

INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS

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by
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Dedicated to a Princely Noble Soul.

PREFACE.

The views incorporated in these pages may provoke criticism from Indian nationalist leaders as well as the British. I have tried to demolish the *so-called* democracy and parliamentary system of government and have criticised dictatorship supported as it invariably is by military might. I have favoured neither socialism nor capitalism. To a casual observer my views might appear inconsistent, but I hasten to assure him that he will find on deeper study, one consistent thought, running throughout the argument that is the advent of the golden age through modernisation free from unhealthy tendencies, political, economic, social and religious.

I believe that happy times are coming and the world is on its way towards the realisation of the best in man and not his destruction. India shall be free as it is bound to be and her emancipation which will afford her true self expression, will release forces, spiritual and moral, which alone will save the world.

I owe a word of thanks to Pt. Morli Dhar, Book Counsel, to whose interest and encouragement the production of this book is largely due.

B. N. KHANNA.

12th March, 1939.

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CHAPTER I.

The Progress.

THE Day has dawned. The Light has come. A New Life is rising. Wonderful changes are working in the life of man in all its aspects, physical, social, moral, economic and political. Thinkers all over the world have set themselves to discuss the right solutions to the problems of man. There has been darkness for many ages past, in which man suffered and struggled. Much that was said and done in the name of religion was fanaticism; that in the name of economics was exploitation; that in the name of politics was treachery and bloodshed. The wicked flourished and man was set against man.

Still the darkness is lingering; man has not completely got rid of it. It is rather a dangerous position that he is coming to, for the Light of Truth that is dawning upon his understanding is yet dim and insufficient to guide him safe to his heaven, thick as the darkness has been around him. There is danger of his falling in an abyss, now that he has begun to move. Yet he possesses the Light, which he must use, and so find his way.

We have come to the present civilisation rather abruptly. Only during the past couple of centuries has the scientific knowledge that we possess today flashed upon us, as it were, leaving us bewildered and incapable of bringing about correct adjustments in our Life as a whole. Mechanisation, on which the present civilisation has been based, has entered into our living so rapidly that a gap has been created between our psychological outlook and our physical circumstances. Many of the old values which were a part and parcel of our social, moral, economic and political existence in the past are now found to be incapable, irrelevant and sentimental in their application to our present day to day life. Old laws, institutions and traditions are hopelessly inadequate to meet the requirements of the New Life and the New World.

The cardinal fact that influences our life today is the remarkable advance that we have made in the modes of human communication. The pace and precision of the different means of communication are the great cause of the changes that are overtaking our life in almost every way. Even expansion and collapse of

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Empires and States could be attributed to this fact. The position and growth of cities, the diastole and systole of population are influenced by the mechanical means of communications. Modern wars, conquests, pestilence may be mentioned as a few other instances of the altered conditions resulting from mechanised human inter-communication.

The fact that various elements of human population spread throughout the globe, inhabiting distant lands, carrying with them different and even opposite cultures, traditions, laws and morals, are now interconnected by commercial and political relations, is an achievement of the modern age pregnant with great and important consequences.

Under the influence of mechanisation there is a tendency to bring about equalisation of all peoples, which in turn means equal opportunities and equal amenities for all. The machine, which is the backbone of modern society, submits equally to all and is prepared to serve everybody without any distinction of race or rank.

Scientific knowledge and its application to provide both necessities and luxuries of life,

have created a new thought that is working in the mind of the average man of today. He is creating an attitude of self-confidence and overcoming his weakness of belief in superstitions. He believes in his capacity and knows he can subdue the elements of nature. He does not invoke gods whom he does not know to save him from dangers and difficult positions, nor does he wish to possess superhuman powers to perform his miracles. His miracles are human. The fears that he had of the natural phenomena like lightning and tempest, floods and earthquakes, lunar and solar eclipses, which he could not reasonably understand (nor had he the power, capacity and the means of controlling them or escaping them), are no longer to be entertained by him. He has invented elaborate systems, with which he has either overcome all dangers connected with the working of natural elements or has minimised them considerably. Not only that, but he has conquered and mastered the elements to his advantage. The conquest of nature has emancipated the modern man from fears and superstitions of medieval times. The general level of human life has been improved by making

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man strong and commanding over the forces of nature.

Science and the perfection of the machine have greatly increased the power of man. But his individuality has been thrown into the background. He is strong and enjoys all power as a part of a collective whole and not as an individual. His individuality has rather been subjected to the will and the working of the whole society. Collectively he is the overlord of nature, but individually he is submissive to his group. Individually he is losing his liberty, is getting feeble and is being regarded as incompetent of discharging his responsibilities. The group is, therefore, taking up those functions that it was his duty to discharge. The State, which in modern politics is assumed to represent the collective will of the people taken as a whole, is making itself more responsible for the performance of duties which hitherto belonged to the individual. For instance, children's education cannot be neglected, and the parent is compelled by direct or indirect means to carry on his child's education. The child and his proper bringing up, his education and the ultimate use that is to be made of

him when he reaches manhood, are more a concern of the State than of the individual parent.

But right adjustments of the interests of the individual to those of the State have not yet been perfected as they ought to be. The society of which the State is the representative is passing through a state of disintegration, on account of the changed circumstances created by the advance made in mechanical and scientific knowledge. The family, of which the individual was a part, is no longer a unit composing society. Family ties have weakened, and the love that existed amongst members of the same family is hard to be found. Hearts of individuals no longer stir at family interests. The individual is turned out of the family, but society outside is yet incapable of accommodating him. He is, therefore, misplaced, deprived of the protection of a patriarch or a matriarch on the one hand, and of a proper social structure on the other, in which he could rightly be fitted in.

A huge disintegration of society is, consequently, to be witnessed everywhere. Many a time in the past confusion in the social

relations of man has occurred, resulting in migrations of population and resettlement of their affairs. That sort of disintegration was different. It was usually an effect of shortage of food supplies, or of some hostile invasion, on account of which conditions became lawless, the social texture was broken up and the people migrated to other lands, discarding their own traditional laws and Governments. But now the social break up is working in a different way. There is an upheaval from within the society, and the whole social fabric demands a Change.

No doubt the field of Government operations is widening and its interference for control and enonomic development is accepted as a necessity. Regulations and laws are being made which are not only administrative, but commercial in their bearing and effect. Systems of transportation and communication, such as the railways, tramways, motor omnibuses, roads and canals; the postal, telegraph, telephone and radio broadcasting services; the supply of water, gas, electricity, and even the provision of dwelling houses, pleasure grounds and parks, are all practically the concern of the Government.

The Governments of today have all the tendencies of a business house.

Consequently, the world has undergone a complete transformation even in respect of industry and trade. A marvellous increase in the production of nearly every kind of commodity has been accomplished since the application of mechanisation and science to the means of production.

Material wealth in every form is greatly increasing in almost every country. The connections established by the advanced means of transportation and communication among countries, are neutralising the sentiment of "economic nationalism," that of late was developing in some of the industrialised countries. To think of one's country economically self-sufficient, and to further its own interest alone at the cost of neighbouring countries is going to be regarded as unhealthy patriotism.

The New World thus created is going to stand together. The New World has greater mobility both of men and goods. Speed in sending messages has marvellously increased and machinery has been substituted for handi-

craft in industry, resulting in mass production.

The new knowledge and power that has come to man, if applied in his service and not for his destruction, will bring in a life that must be beautiful and in which humanity may well take pride.

It is going to be a changed life ; a different way of behaving and living is to develop. The old conception of life is to be supplanted by the new one, which may be called scientific.

The highest point in the full growth of the New civilisation has not yet been reached. We know the circumstances that have come in are to result in a wonderful improvement of human society. There are serious dangers, however, that stare us in the face and speak of vast destruction and the frustration of civilisation. But we look to the new hopes and expectations that have been extended to man and hold our view optimistically, that the glory of the new civilisation is going to dawn, and what we call in India " Ram Raj," the kingdom of God, is yet to come.

CHAPTER II.

The Political Outlook.

ALL life in the new world has largely been influenced by Europe, since her awakening and expansion, whether in the sphere of politics, trade and economics, philosophy or religion. New life, new circumstances, new philosophies have come in with the New world. It is then, to the west that we look in our study of the modern man in every sphere of human activities.

The development and growth of political science has taken place under the influence of the changes that life has been subjected to in other respects. Political theories are but solutions of the problem of the adjustment of individual life to Society, influenced by the circumstances around it. Mechanisation has miraculously affected Society in a way that is reflected in the political thought of man. Man's development may be judged by the political institutions that he accepts and adopts. His mental disturbance results in political and social commotions. In fact, man and State are not the antithesis of each other, as many

of the great philosophers understood them. They are identical and are expressions of the one will, as the spiritual minded idealist, Hegel, tried to grasp. The material world around us is but an expression of the spiritual; spirit and matter both together make an organism. If the State is to be a living organism, it cannot live without spirit. Any attempt to make our material self grow independently of the spiritual will, lands us into mistakes and troubles, deteriorating man to display the brute in him.

Overproduction that mechanisation has caused has given rise to concentration of capital in the hands of a few industrialists, and there has come to exist what is called the capitalist system. This capitalist system is coming to disaster, on account of the disproportionate development of its industrial production, the unsoundness of its monetary system and its political inadaptability. No doubt at present there is no new order sufficiently developed to replace the present unsatisfactory and tottering system of capitalism. It is difficult to say how long this state of affairs will last, but it is clear that it is not going to last long. Humanity is proceeding very rapidly towards an order in which

there will be no place for private ownership and capitalism, which thrive on the exploitation of the poor masses.

Ordinarily modern Governments are based on the capitalist system. We have got at present different types of sovereign Governments, parliamentary monarchies and parliamentary republics. The Parliaments are elected by the bulk of the population according to principles of democracy. Democracy has come to mean at present a sort of political fiction based on an idea that every subject is capable of making whatever collective decisions are required to be made. Equal opportunity to every member of the democratic society according to his ability is much talked of in theories, but is hardly to be found anywhere in actual practice. Democracy was brought forth to give equal opportunity to every member of the State, and therefore he was given a voice in the collective affairs of it. But democracy has failed. It has come to help the selfishness of those who form themselves into political cliques, and succeed in holding the reins of the Government with the help of propaganda, the means of which are completely under their

control. It is seldom that we find in the present democratic Governments the poor classes given opportunities for equal expression of life as compared with others whom circumstances have helped and to whom better chances have come. The so-called democratic republics have therefore failed to give equal share to every one in the Government.

Besides, Democracy has proved more or less harmful to the world. It is manifestly absurd for every one to advance criticism and think himself competent to pass judgments unless he is properly equipped with all information on the point at issue. We do not say that the people should not be given free play in their political activities; but what we think is that unless one is properly brought up, educated and possessed of genuine knowledge of the principles of any subject, his opinion is valueless.

Democracy has developed a new mentality amongst men, who assert their own opinions as perfectly sound on every point and are prepared to defy any established authority. This attitude of mind is the result of propaganda issued in favour of so called democracy. Democracy is a revolt against birth and privilege,

against monopolization by hereditary classes. This revolt, as expressed by democracy, has come to be an assertion that all men have equal rights. The masses have been rudely awakened and they have been found always ready to uphold everything antagonistic to established classes and rulers. Destructive and not constructive schemes appeal to their minds; whenever a more than usually vigorous speaker utters slogans in favour of democracy, a huge number of submissive mankind follow him, and they think democracy is working. In noise and upheavals, in murder and bloodshed, democracy seems to be winning. This is a wrong and dangerous conception of Democracy, which we do not uphold. True democracy will come into existence only when the most down trodden individual is lifted up and given equal opportunity for his self-expression according to his capacity. But this is not to be by extending the franchise and making every irresponsible idiot meddle in politics. There is a need for a new political philosophy that will bring about this great revolution and do away with the present day democracy, that is being talked about so loudly.

The political theories enunciated and propagated have made the ordinary man think that he is generally right if he is not taken astray by a priest or a king. He concludes that his rights are established with a ballot, and a box is provided to make him think that equality is established and Democracy is very sympathetic towards him. It does not occur to him that men who seek his vote are selfish and are no less exploiters of him than a capitalist; that clamour and noise is nothing but to fool him, for there is no genuine desire to give him an equal opportunity. Right of vote does not really bring him equal opportunities. It is the capitalists that come to the top by securing votes of the poor labourers. A man of ordinary means succeeding in an election by virtue of his exceptional genius, is but an exception. In this case also, it may safely be said that the man at the time of his success may no longer be a labourer. He, by his cleverness and resourcefulness, has earned money enough to be reckoned with the capitalists.

War and exploitation of the poor people still continue, but democracy still holds promises

of equal opportunities to all. It is difficult to conceive that all the people could be fooled for all the time. The present state of affairs requires to be brought to an end and the real democracy established. We do not feel exalted when a voter who is neither educated nor properly guided, is taken to be the greatest achievement of democracy. This voter is only a fooled member of society who is made to think that he is getting better politically, economically, financially and socially by getting the right to vote. Because of the insincerity of the men at the top and of the institutions they set up, all attempts at the better solution of the world problems are frustrated. They, being the representatives of selfish interests, have so far failed to find out the true solution. After doing some sort of patch work in their limited spheres, these people retire, leaving behind a jungle, as it were, of insolvable questions. They are products of the vote, which is given them because of their propaganda and cleverness in creating excitement by political "stunts" which cause the simple minded masses to be carried with them. They are experts at their business and the result is

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that sincere and truth loving men, feeling the game dirty enough, choose to remain aloof from all that glitters in the name of Democracy.

Enthusiasm in favour of democracy is waning. Theorists and founders of democratic Governments had thought that the system would bring forth men, straight and upright, who being the products of the popular vote, would have a popular mind to serve the State. The actions of such men would be the desires of the people. It was thought all round that the good times were coming. But the hopes of the democratic world have been shattered and the principle of the popular vote has failed to bring forth the desired results. We believe voters seldom produce the right and true leaders. They have succeeded in setting forth party leaders, who see themselves and the State in the light of their parties. Their parties are their supports and, therefore, their vision is narrow. These leaders have made their cliques, and jointly rule over the destinies of the people. Democracy revolted against the vested interest of the privileged few, and fell again into the hands of the few, by no means less tyrannical than those whom they have supplanted. The

real position of the lower classes with all their misery and degradation has not materially changed under democracy. Their exploitation continues.

This sense of the failure of democracy has only been felt since the Great War, which may be taken as a great rude shaking that was given to the whole world to wake up and mend the wrongs that were being perpetrated in the name of democracy. Was not the European War the product of parliamentarian democracy? The insincerity and hypocrisy of the party leaders and so-called statesmen of the advanced European nations was exhibited in its utter nakedness in that great carnage. The Peace Treaties that followed this greatest of all human combats amply showed the selfishness, narrow-mindedness and vindictiveness of the peoples and their leaders who came out as conquerors. These Peace Treaties were in fact the divisions of loot that the conquerors thought had fallen into their hands. How the central powers, i. e. Germany, Austria and others, were first misled by the fourteen points of Wilson and how ultimately the vindictive Peace Treaties were imposed on them is the task for the historians

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to describe and comment upon. Suffice it to say that all these so-called Peace Treaties contained ample material for continuing the disturbed state of affairs in European politics and were least designed to establish Peace. The so-called Peace Treaties have rather become stumbling blocks in the establishment of real Peace.

All this happened in Europe because of the unhealthy mentality of the European Governments, which were the products of Democracy. The people in countries that had suffered most began to feel the necessity of some better form of Government than the system of Democratic parliaments, and we find today Dictatorship submissively and readily welcomed and obeyed in all such countries.

In almost all European States there seems still to be a mania for changing Governments, and yet no finality has been reached as to what is really the best form of Government which may be brought in for the salvation of the ills of the people. Parliamentary republics are being trounced by dictatorships. The Fascist dictatorship of Mussolini in Italy, The Nazi dictatorship in Germany are clear indications that the people are not satisfied and that their

mind is disturbed. These dictatorships have shown themselves to be violent and dreadful, and yet they are popular because they have brought about strong Governments. Once Signor Mussolini is believed to have said: "Masses follow strong leaders, as women love strong men." The Dictators, with a strong hand have lifted up their countries from their fallen state and have shown a way to men as to how the future world should be controlled and disciplined.

During the Great War and after it States and Empires fell, and revolutions sprang up in the Great European countries. The shock of the War was great and the conception of the social and political structure of the various European countries changed altogether. The Russian Empire was the first to collapse; the working class revolution was successful and communist commissars were established. Then followed the Ottoman-Empire, and in Turkey the Nationalist Republic came into existence. The German and the Austro-Hungarian Empires collapsed before the Armistice was signed.

Germany was the most powerful, most

progressive and the best organised nation in Europe before the War. Though prostrated and humiliated by its defeat in the Great War, it was yet the most important country on which the future of world's peace hinged. Everything that could possibly be done to ruin this country economically was carried out. It was deprived of coal and iron by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and upper Silesia ; it lost colonies, navy, fortifications, merchant fleet, control of its own navigable rivers, and army. Not only this, but it was also made to pay huge sums by way of Reparation to the allies. All these terms were the outcome of the vindictive mind with which the Allies sat in the Peace Conference to punish the great country and to establish Peace in Europe. The so-called Peace was established but the seeds for future wars were sown in abundance.

This great industrial country needed some time, before it could once again rise from its great fall. It was through much bloodshed only that it regained economic and defensive freedom. Parties one after the other came to power, to be overthrown in turn. Meanwhile, the economic persecution of the country

continued. It was, in fact, the wonderful stamina of the German people that withstood the hardship caused to them by the Versailles Treaty.

At last the Allies realised that they could not be much benefited by strangling Germany economically to death. The vindictive attitude changed and then followed the Dawes plan and the Locarno pacts. Germany began to recover. The laxity of the Weimer Republic gave rise to various militarist organisations, which strengthened themselves as time passed. One of these was the Nazi party, whose 7 members to begin with in 1919 had grown to 178,000 in 1929.

There is a limit to everything, beyond which it is difficult for any people to endure. By the beginning of 1930, this limit to the suffering of German people had been reached. The German youths were ready to rebel against the forces that were responsible for the misery and humiliation imposed on them. They entertained in their hearts a deep enmity against the Powers which had drafted the Treaty of Versailles. They knew the democrats of the Weimer Republic, and their weakness. There was general discontentment against the

Government and the ground was prepared to bring about its overthrow. Taking advantage of the circumstances, the Nazi Party emerged as the Saviour of Germany. Adolf Hitler, the founder and leader of this party, received strength from every disappointment and depression experienced by the people, who lent their support freely to his cause. It was an attractive doctrine that the Nazis offered to the country—a blending of nationalism and socialism. It was sufficient to make an effective appeal to the hungry, humiliated country. Once again feelings of self-respect were aroused amongst the people by the assertion that Germans were the chosen people of the great Aryan stock. In place of unemployment that the Republic had brought in, Nazism offered work to all classes. So it was to the Nazi leaders that the whole country came ultimately to look, to raise their Fatherland once again and to make it stand on its own legs. In 1933 chancellorship and then dictatorial powers for four years were conferred upon Hitler, and the work of centralization of the resources and energy of the whole country began to be accomplished. The component States of Germany were brought under Nazi

control and the whole country completely "Nazified."

The pre-War Germany was the creation of Bismarck, who held the idea of German Unity above everything. But it was then a federation of largely autonomous States, each independent and jealous of Prussian leadership. The new Germany was aggressively nationalist. The Nazis established the single authority of the Reich over all Germany. The separate States were only administrative units. The foreign policy of Nazi Germany came to be one of defiance rather than of accommodation and compliance. It was in the resistance to the allies that it found strength.

The Nazi movement was one of property owners and middle class people directed against the proletariat. The shopkeepers, the small employers and the property owning peasants were behind the movement. Communism and large scale capitalism did not appeal to the people. The former, preaching an internationalist doctrine of revolution, failed because the Germans were thorough nationalists. To proclaim to the German workers that they had no country and that they should form a

common brotherhood with workers all over the world, outraged the German national feelings.

Nor could the German accept large scale capitalism, as it obviously fell far short of bringing forth any solution of his country's difficulties. On the other hand Nazism was hostile to bankers and financiers, who threatened to crush small business. It was against socialism that aimed at supersession of all forms of private property, levelling up of all incomes, and destruction of the social superiority of the middle classes. The Nazi movement collaborated with the big capitalists in its fight against socialism, for it was strong enough to control them whenever, per chance, there could be a danger of their becoming inconvenient.

Another policy that was followed by Nazi Germany was that it did not suffer opposition or criticism. All forms of organisations, governmental and non-governmental, were assimilated and absorbed to carry out the common policy. There was no love for the democratic principle of power proceeding from below, e.g., the voters. All authority, leadership and guidance was to come from above, the Nazi State.

Thus Germany once again rose to be the foremost country in central Europe; and once again we see the clouds of war gathering fast and darkening the horizon of mankind.

The Russian Revolution was another tremendous event that is to be noticed in our study of the New World in its political outlook. Russia is a vast country, half European and half Asiatic. It is, therefore, difficult to judge it wholly from European standards. The Russian Revolutions may make us understand something of oriental upheavals against exploitation by the capitalist privileged classes.

Tsarist Russia had developed industrially, and the evils of capitalism had appeared, e.g., profiteering, slums, semi-starvation and degradation of the working classes. The only remedy to improve the condition of the people was the overthrow of the whole capitalist system, the cause of all their misery.

The great philosopher, Karl Marx had prophesied generations ago that the capitalist system would come to a serious crash one day, because of the competition for exploiting markets amongst the different industrial capitalist nations. That crash came in the form of the

Great European War. The capitalistic system weakened ; at any rate its weakness was made so manifest that the workers in all such countries took the moment as an opportune one to give a blow to capitalism and wreck it. Such a chance was seized by the Russian in 1917. People of almost all the classes sided with the workers, who declared a huge general strike. Tsardom fell, and a provisional Government of moderate leaders supported by revolutionary workers was thrown out ultimately by the Bolsheviks under Lenin. Then followed a dangerous civil war. But Lenin was successful, all the opposition was overpowered by what was called "Red Terror," and communism was established. The Communist Revolution in Russia was a thorough revolution, which not only brought about a change in the political institutions, but also in the entire economic and social life of the people. Communism was a new philosophy of life, developed and put into practice in Russia. It did not recognise any differences in political, economic and social aspects of life. For it everything was political. The transition from the capitalist State to the communist State was brought about through

proletarianisation of the peasants and the agriculturists.

The Soviet Union is a federation of independent Republics, professing a common social theory called Marxian Communism. It is capable of affiliating other countries and nationalities which may profess the communistic philosophy and are desirous of receiving inspiration from Moscow. It is a sort of a new political religion, like Islam, which is prepared to extend its boundaries, not by force of arms as Islam did, but by propaganda.

The basis of the Soviet constitution is the factory "collective." It is not a body merely for criticism and complaint, but it definitely co-operates in production and in "planning." It is a sort of group or committee, which forms itself round any and every Institution and takes upon itself social functions covering a very wide field. This "collective" in a factory makes itself responsible for the working of the social life of the workers in that factory, through factory kitchens, factory club, factory housing estate, and the education of the children of the factory workers. Schools, prisons and reformatories are all controlled by the "collective." It

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also forms a sort of a court of first instance to try offences, and maintains discipline of the factory or of the institution under its control. This "collective" is the strength of Soviet Communism. It affords ample opportunity to every individual to display his or her energy as a citizen of the Republic, and it is also capable to enforce that tight discipline which is very necessary to keep the constitution stable.

The Communist Party is another wonderful Institution in the Government of Russia. Like "collectives", it has no mention in the Soviet Constitution. But it is the guiding force in vital matters of legislation and administration in the country. It carries the real authority. The key positions in all the Departments of the Government are held by the members of this party, who are professed communists of sterling worth. It is a hard discipline that they have to undergo before they are admitted ; a very high record of personal service and personal conduct is expected of the members of the party as an example to the rest of the community. This sense of service and true leadership has been responsible for bringing forth true leaders, who are capable of inspiring confidence

all around them. That is the reason why, in odd circumstances, communism is succeeding in the capitalist world. There is a great difference between the Democratic and the Communist Leaders, who have got more stable views and conduct. Communism is a philosophy of life that has come to the New World with its proposals and social experiments which promise a great future that the world may come to.

Another movement that strikes out attention in a political survey of the New World, the Fascist party, has come to power by violence, destroying the parliamentary Government in Italy.

As this party grew in strength, enrolment in it became a matter of privilege with the Italians. To gain admission into the party was not an easy job. All instruments of propaganda, the Press and the Platform were brought under the Government control.

The Fascist Grand Council and the Fascist Party are not formed on any democratic principles of election. Fascism is a negation of both Democracy and Socialism. It does not believe in election or in the equality of all human beings. It believes in the preservation

of social classes. It aims at harmonising relations between the employers and the workers. No two persons have the same function to perform and therefore there cannot be equality amongst them, is what is believed by the Fascists. Nor is equality amongst men and women recognised; women are required to confine themselves to occupations connected with replenishing and preserving the population. They are not desired to enter into competition with men. Right to private property is recognised, but private property owners are not allowed to do anything that may go against the interests of the State. A Fascist is thoroughly national and believes that the State acts always in the interests of the people as a whole, and, therefore, people should individually and collectively live for the State. He does not believe in universal peace. War to him is very necessary, in order to awaken and bring forth the best virtues of head and heart that remain latent in the absence of resistance to him from without. His is implicit faith in the Dictator and in Violence: Pacifism is, according to him, surrender and cowardice. He is by faith a fighter and does not believe in the possibility

or in the desirability of perpetual peace. He relies on faith and force rather than on humility and sweet reasonableness. He does not, therefore, have tolerance for his opponent, nor is he prepared to come to terms with him. His appeal is straight to force.

These, in brief, are the political movements that are taking hold of Europe. They are political experiments that are being made, seeking the right adjustment of the affairs of men in the new circumstances created by the machine age.

We do not find Communism, Fascism and Nazism altogether bad. They are good inasmuch as they enforce a sort of discipline amongst their followers and claim to control their activities over a large field. But we do not agree with the idea that all men are equal in every respect as communism does. Nor do we believe in any class domination, be it even the labour class ; nor are we prepared to think that the labour class, when given all the powers in politics, would bring any millennium. A dominant labour class will become as tyrannical as the aristocracy or the middle class people ever could be. Nor do we think that all men

will have their inner nature changed in such a way that complete equality will be established amongst them, that the different classes into which human society divides itself now, *viz.* the labourers, the middle class people, the big industrialists and the Aristocracy, can be merged into one and each one of the human beings will have equal capacity and ability.

We disagree also with the violent creed of Fascism and Nazism. The domination of the State over the individual has been stressed too much by them. Their Imperialistic designs belong to the 19th century. The time has passed when Imperialism could be extended and Empires established. There is no place for new Empires, now that the old ones are tottering to their fall.

It is our firm belief that the great advance science has made renders it rather difficult to enjoy great Empires. No doubt these Empires can now be better controlled by the scientific inventions of quick communications and transport, but the rivalry that is engendered in other nations backed by scientific inventions will not allow the Empires to work smoothly. There is an atmosphere against the Empires

and Imperialistic pursuits, and the people in their hearts of hearts do not feel great with this "greatness of Empire." Asia and Africa provided scope for the European nations for their expansion and the establishment of their Empires in the 19th century. All Asia, from the Pacific to Persia, is at present passing through a period of social chaos. The prestige that the European Empires enjoyed is now a thing of the past. Therefore, we can be bold to say that the Imperialistic grip of the West is relaxing on Asia.

We take Communism, Fascism and Nazism to be improvements on Parliamentary Democracy, as they have produced real leaders of men. The Parliamentary Democracy failed to produce real leaders. They were selfish and crooked and were anxious only to come to the top for enjoying position and power. They did not possess that creative power of true leaders, that the new philosophies of Nazism and Fascism have produced, inspite of many unhealthy ideas that have grown along with them. The leaders of Parliamentary Democracy have left no permanent impression and their leadership can at best be compared to a flicker of light,

which is, and is then no more, leaving behind things in much the same darkness as before its appearance. They, being the products of popular vote, are the outcome of the mere whim of the people, which is ever shifting and never stable.

But we do not want dictators that will concentrate all power in themselves. We want leaders of men true and great, not the creations of parties, jealous of power; men who will be a source of strength to others, capable of inspiring truth and greatness in all who are below them; men who may be nationalists, yet owning all mankind, living for their own nations and letting others similarly to live. Such men and the constitutions, which bring them forth from which the moral and spiritual tone of life is not divorced, will be the true pride of humanity and the new world.

They are strong magnets, which spread a strong sphere of attraction around themselves. Votes will not create them. They are the makers of opinions and not their products. Often they suffer for their convictions, but sufferings bring greater force to what they stand for. It is not necessary that they should

be always popular. For many a time they are truth incarnate, arrayed against the Satanic forces. Their strength is their own and they never fail, for their death and sacrifice let loose the currents of truth which expand and grow stronger even after their death. But how are these true leaders of men to be discovered?

They are not created by party votes. They come forth themselves and humanity bows to them. A well ordered society readily recognises them and without passing through any elections, they are admitted as true leaders. What is required is to form a better society with high ideals that may be capable not only of discovering the right men to guide its destiny, but of making the best use of them for its amelioration and betterment. A society is judged by the kind of leaders it claims. Let, therefore, the common people be properly educated, so that they may form a healthy society to recognise leaders that will take it safe to Progress and right Evolution.

CHAPTER III.

The Struggle for Independence: The Islamic States.

THE New World may conveniently be divided into dominating and dominated States and nationalities. Domination may be religious, economic or political, or a combination of two or more of these aspects. Religious domination had had its day, and it now seems to be least in evidence. Broadly speaking the two religious movements, the Christian and the Islamic may be said to have been chiefly responsible for this type of domination. It was in the fourteenth century of the Christian Era that Christendom, under the influence of the Renaissance movement, began throwing off the authority of the Pope, thus forging into shape fresh nation States which entertained a new and an independent outlook on matters religious. Similarly, by a strange coincidence, it is in the fourteenth century of the Islamic Era (that is, in our own days) that the authority of the Caliph has been discarded, thus paving the way for the rise of Islamic nation States.

The authority and the dominating influence of religion under a great head like the Pope or the Caliph has thus been shaken off by the different nations, establishing independent States both Christian and Islamic. Consequently, we do not at present have many dominated or dominating States based on considerations of religion. Religious domination has given place to political and economic domination. This form of subjugation of the one by the other still continues, and it will take some time before freedom for all nations and individuals becomes an accomplished fact, allowing man to grow to his perfection and the fullest realisation through complete and uncramped expression of his individuality. A struggle for independence of a few nationalities and States that have been dominated by Imperialist design of some of the great Powers may be cited here by way of illustration.

At the break up of the Ottoman Empire there were violent disruptions before the different independent Islamic States were established. The recent awakening and the rise of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Pasha gave the final blow to the last vestige of the conception of an

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Islamic Empire under a religious head, *viz.*, the Caliph. The decay of the great Ottoman Empire had begun in the nineteenth century. Abdul Hamid II emphasised the holy nature of his exalted office ; he stressed that he was a Caliph as well as a Sultan; and as the former, he claimed allegiance from Muslims all over the world. But he could neither obtain nor long maintain the respect that he desired from the Muslims, who began to look upon him more as a political schemer than a spiritual head. This loss of confidence in the Caliph was followed by the Mahdi movement amongst the Muslims of Sudan and the Wahabi movement in Central Arabia. These revolts against the Caliph's authority arose from the feeling that the Caliphate was meant only to execute the laws of God as interpreted by religious scholars, and not for establishing a sort of papacy amongst the Muslims.

About this time the western ideas of democracy had begun to percolate into Turkey, and the Young Turks began to dream of a Turkish Empire in which Christians, Muslims, Jews, Turks, Arabs and others should be represented on a basis of perfect equality.

Consequently, demands for a democratic constitution began to be made by the young Turks.

The change in their political outlook was very clear. The Caliphate could not escape disintegration and disruption. The Great European War precipitated its dissolution. The outlying Muslim States and peoples were lost to the Turkish Empire. Turkey, by throwing in its lot with Germany, afforded a long wished for opportunity to the English, who by their diplomacy and judicious use of vast resources, completed the disruption. The different peoples and their States comprising the once great Ottoman Empire were thus cut adrift from Turkey. At the end of the War, Turkey found itself to have lost Syria, Iraq, Arabia, Palestine and Egypt.

A new Turkey was soon rising up on the ruins of the past Ottoman Empire, now cured of Imperial ambitions, but pulsating with national and patriotic energy. After an arduous struggle both against the Sultan, the Allies, and the British, Turkey, under the bold leadership of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, was successful in winning independence. Mustafa Kemal was through and through a nationalist

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and modern in his ideas, incapable of tolerating the subjection of his people to the religious domination of Islam, which derived all its authority from Arabia. Nor could he agree to compromise Turkish nationalism through a weak Government. He established a strong dictatorship, as head of the army, leader of the people's party and the President of the Turkish Republic. Having acquired great power and influence, he set himself to bringing about almost complete revolution in the lives of the Turkish people. A new philosophy of life was preached and the whole Turkish nation was quickly moulded and hammered into an altogether new shape. We observe that soon after his election as President, Mustafa Kemal abolished the Caliphate and in the place of the laws of God, the Sharriat, civil and criminal laws were enforced and the new Turkey was reconstituted purely upon a secular basis. Schools on modern lines with compulsory elementary education were established; the Turkish language was simplified; women were given complete equality with men in almost every aspect of life; the marriage laws were secularised on western model; European

dress was made compulsory, and law courts on modern lines were set up. Thus the transformation of Turkey has been accomplished and the 'Sick Man of Europe' is again much alive and kicking.

Turkey would have failed in working out its destiny, if the Allies in the Great War had not deprived it of much of its vast territory, particularly the Arab provinces. The Arabs had never sided wholeheartedly with the Turks in their struggle against the British. The Arabs wanted to form into an independent group and had their own nationalist movement. The English took advantage of this sentiment and succeeded in drawing the Arabs away from the Turks, by holding out promises of winning them an Arabian Empire. They, therefore, fought against the Turks and sided with the British. But they were to be disappointed, as the promises made to them by the British were only partially fulfilled. To their chagrin and amazement Arab speaking lands were divided between England and France. After the War, during the Peace Conference, the question about the settlement of these lands was considered to be one relating to the middle East. The

word 'East' brought about a changed attitude in the western mind, and it was with a different outlook that the westerners began dealing with the question. The principle enunciated in one of the Wilson's fourteen points, *i.e.* "Every territorial settlement involved in this War must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, not as a part of mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States," was not to be applied in the case of the eastern peoples. Instead, a new principle was incorporated, called the mandate system, which was brought forth to solve the problem of the Arabs. It was embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations as Article 22, the first part of which ran as follows :—

1. To these colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late War have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and the securities for the performance of this trust

should be embodied in this covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake these responsibilities, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.
3. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory, until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

The wishes of the communities were never ascertained and the allies made their own arrangements for the mandates as best suited their purposes. Iraq became the mandate of Great Britain; Syria was divided into Syria proper and Palestine, the former was accepted as a mandated territory by France and the latter by Great Britain. Some economic interests of these western Powers were at stake

in these mandated territories, and therefore it was necessary to hold the country in order to safeguard those interests. Husain Sherif, who claimed to be the descendent of the Prophet was recognised as the king of Hedjaz, and his two younger sons were given the mandated territories of Iraq and Damascus. Ibn Saud, the king of Nejd, was thus encircled by the Sherifians who were his enemies. Egypt was left under a British protectorate. Such was the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire.

It was the misfortune of the Syrians to have the French mandate forced upon them against their wishes. Though divided into various religions and races they were thoroughly opposed to the French mandate. A struggle ensued and their King Feisel was driven out of Damascus. Ultimately the French set up in Syria a military administration. In all such circumstances where there were people belonging to various religions and communities, the usual policy *Divide et impera* was followed. The whole country was divided into five separate States. The Syrians resented this partitioning of their country and the favour shown to the Christian minorities. The tribes

rose against the French and their city Damascus was ruthlessly bombed and shelled. The beautiful bazars were destroyed and innocent citizens were killed. This rebellion of the Syrians was subdued in the most ruthless manner. The cause of the Syrian nation seemed to be triumphing and it was proposed to have a permanent treaty signed by the Syrians and the French in place of the mandate. The French, however, insisted upon the partitioning of the country into five districts which was not acceptable to the Syrians. Thus the French failed and the Syrians had to carry on their struggle for independence.

Similar is the case with the British in Palestine. Here the failure of the British is as serious as that of the French in Syria. Palestine is considered to be the right home of Jews, and therefore thousands of Jews migrate to Palestine every year from all over the world. The Jews all the world over do not exceed 12 million souls and Palestine could form a national home to enable them to realize their aspiration and dream of a Jewish nation. The Arabs in Palestine think all this Jewish influx into their country is against their national

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interest. The British, owing to the promises made to Jews for the creation of Jewish home, have felt compelled to sponsor the cause of the Jews as laid down in the famous Balfour Declaration. The aim kept in view is to establish a Jewish National Home and also to make the people of Palestine efficient in the art of self-government. It is a fantastic idea and no less than a miracle can accomplish it. The two divergent nations with opposite characteristics and up-bringing cannot be brought close together by resolutions and decrees of the Mandatory Powers. Consequently there have been formidable riots between the Arabs and the Jews which have lowered the prestige of the British in Palestine.

The Jews at present form about 27 per cent of the population of Palestine. They are more intelligent and resourceful than the Arabs, who are idle and fanatics. The Jews, by their skill and resourcefulness, have transformed the country in a short period of 15 years. They have brought prosperity to the land by creating industry and developing agriculture; once again, as in its past, it promises to be a land flowing with milk and honey. The Jews have introduced

a new spirit in Palestine and it has become the world's newest country. New gardens and new orchards grace the beautiful sites of ancient civilisation. Valleys that were desolate have been changed to vineyards, and deserts and wastes are today growing to prosperous villages. All this has been accomplished by the Jews, and it is difficult to think that these industrious workers will yield to the fanaticism and ignorance of the Arabs, and leave the country.

On the other hand the Arabs are also determined nationalists. All the blessings brought by the influence of the Jews would perhaps have been welcomed, had all been genuine and natural and not fulfilling the designs of a foreign Imperialist nation.

The antagonism between Arabs and Jews being difficult of reconciliation, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission on Palestine in August 1936 to report on the underlying causes of the disturbances and to enquire into the manner in which the mandate for Palastine was being implemented in relation to the obligations of the mandatory towards the Arabs and the Jews. Finding the national aspirations of both the parties incapable of

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working together in a single State, the Peel Palestine Commission recommended a partition of the country into three classes of territory, *viz.*, Arab and Jews States and British mandated areas. The Jewish State comprised the whole upper and lower Gallilee Valley, the coastal plain, a part of the Southern District and also the towns of Hafa, Safad, Taire and Tiberius. The British Area comprised Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and also a corridor extending on either side of the Jerusalem-Jafa Road, but providing Arabs access to Jafa Port. The remainder of the country was the Arab State. The partition, the Commission pointed out, would give national independence to the Arabs and a national home to the Jews.

But the partition is not only unpopular, but is injurious both to the interests of the Arabs and the Jews. It neither gives a national status to the Arabs, nor does it go to make the national home for the Jews that they wanted. It is a case of killing a child in order to divide it between the two parents. Palestine has been subjected to the knife of partition, and a great resentment is felt all over. The advantage, if any, goes to the British Mandatory power, for

it succeeds in dividing the Arabs and Jews into two States which would be always at daggers drawn, giving opportunity to the British to play the one against the other. We are reminded of the story that children learn, wherein two cats went for a judgment to a monkey with a loaf of bread to be divided equally between them, and the cause of the dispute between the two cats was removed when the loaf was parcelled out and eaten by the monkey in his attempt to maintain the balance. Exactly so has Palestine been divided, and both Arabs and Jews are the losers.

Naturally, all attempts at bringing about peace which, in fact, are attempts to obtain advantages at the cost of weaker nations are bound to fail. So long as the right thing is not done, peace in any country—and, as a matter of fact, in the world—cannot be achieved. The fact is, the British want to have a part of this land for the purpose of ensuring safety to the Air Line which is to connect India with England and for which Palestine must necessarily be under the control of the British. In view of this, nothing can possibly be done by the British which would go to benefit the Arabs

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and the Jews. Resentment is gaining strength and spreading wide ; so much so, that the partition is being taken as a breach of faith on the part of the British Government. We are sure that acts like this partition are unnatural and cannot last long. The truth must be established, and a cause which would ensure real national freedom to the Arabs and to the Jews must ultimately be adopted.

The more recent developments in Palestine exhibit a further effort directed towards exploring ways and means of abridging differences between Arabs and Jews. The mandatory Government appointed another commission in 1938 under the chairmanship of Mr. Woodhead, an able Indian Civilian. Its deliberations, it was thought, would tone down the hostility which the partition scheme envisaged in the Peel Report had evoked. The report of the Woodhead Commission is a very ably drawn up document and its findings are conceived in a more practical way of grappling with the most difficult situation of Palestine of today. The Commission has repudiated the Partition Scheme and recommends a more friendly approach to the problem. But the pre-requisites

of a final compromise should be the restoration of law and order in Palestine; suppression of terrorism and a friendlier and a more frank consultation at Whitehall with the leaders of the two opposing communities. Action along these lines is proceeding apace—the establishment of military rule in Palestine and conference with the leaders in London.

The mandate system is thus failing both in Syria and Palestine. Both these countries lie on the vital trade route between the East and the West. It is the land bridge between Asia and Europe, and as such possesses a particular significance.

The British conquered the three Turkish provinces of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul during the Great War. It is a territory inhabited by three communities, the Iraqis, the Kurds and the Assyrian Christians. Since the discovery of Persian oil fields this area has come to be of strategical importance to the British; Mesopotamia is expected to play an important part in the formation of a base for linking Imperial communications in the coming Air Age. In 1920, Iraq was given over to Great Britain as mandatory control. The subsequent rebellion

was suppressed with difficulty, and in the end the British agreed that the Iraqis should be made responsible for the administration of their own country. In 1932, Iraq was admitted into the League of Nations and the British mandate came to an end. It was the first mandatory State that became independent. But the question of the Kurds and the Assyrian Christians has not yet been satisfactorily solved for they are badly treated by the Iraqi Government.

British Imperialism was most contradictory in Egypt. The British began taking interest in Egyptian affairs as far back as the time of Napoleon. Egypt was a part of the Ottoman Empire but the British influence was so great that they practically exercised a sort of sovereignty. It was in 1914, when the Great War broke out, that it became impossible for the British to keep up a false appearance any longer. A proclamation was issued announcing : " Egypt is placed under the protection of His Majesty and will henceforth constitute a British Protectorate." But the appearance of Egyptian independence was still not wholly taken away. The Khedive of Egypt was honoured by the

title of Sultan, and the Protectorate was declared as a temporary expedient during the War time. The whole Nile delta was put under martial law and thousands of Egyptians were pressed to work as labourers in the service of the Allied troops. Yet Egypt was not a combatant country in the War. The position was peculiar, for neither could it be regarded a neutral country.

Such a situation was tiresome to the Egyptians and they wanted War to come to an early end so that their country might be evacuated by the British. But on the declaration of the armistice they were greatly disillusioned when their representatives were not allowed to lay their case before the Peace Conference. A nationalist party, called the Wafd, under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha came into existence, demanding complete autonomy for Egypt. The British deported the leaders of this party and the Egyptians carried on a campaign of sabotage against the British. At last Egyptian independence was recognised with reservations, which ran as follows:—

- (a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt.

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- (b) The defence of Egypt against all foreign aggressions or interference, direct or indirect
- (c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities.
- (d) The Sudan.

The nationalist party refused to accept the reservations, and a long struggle followed. It was difficult for Egyptians to give up the Sudan, for it controlled the entire water supply of Egypt. Moreover they were connected with its people by linguistic, religious and political ties. On the other hand the British claimed to have sunk much capital in the development of the Sudan, through cotton fields, railways, etc., which they could not give up. Besides, there was the question of communications with India, Australia, Persia, Mesopotamia, China and the African territories through sea, land and air routes, in which Egypt played an important part. Thus the problem was difficult of solution.

Then followed a series of political assassinations, and king Faud, who was not in the least popular, began to rule according to the old system of Palace Government and, later, by a constitution of his own, under which he

enjoyed the right to suspend or dissolve the Parliament. But the Wafd Party continued the struggle ; the King was obliged to abrogate the constitution of 1930, and accept a cabinet of moderate constitutionalists. It was clear that Great Britain would have to come to terms with the Wafd if the question of Egypt was to be satisfactorily settled.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty concluded in August, 1936, is a long step forward for the Egyptians in the realization of their freedom. It is a freedom more or less of a type that is enjoyed by the Dominions within the British Empire, wherein the lame excuse of protecting interests, vested or otherwise, that England has ever been advancing for filling the internal administration of the dependent colonies with officials, British or natives in their pay, particularly at key positions, is done away with. Consequently Egypt has almost approached the Status of Dominion within the Empire, though legally not recognized. Dominion Status means essentially complete internal freedom, yielding some economic advantages to Britain in return for protection from external enemies, and to this the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty is an approachment.

The Treaty has given to the Egyptians practically all that they required, conceding of course to the British the right and power to control the Suez Canal. It is no insult to Egyptian self-respect if for some time the English troops, in co-operation with the Egyptians, safeguard that great International Water-way. It is again in the interests of Egypt that the British power may be quite near to them to save them from any aggression, like that of Italy into Abyssinia, for Egypt offers considerably more attraction. The British Government has done well to concede a very large measure of freedom to Egypt, even though perhaps obliged by pressure of political strategy in the face of the expansion of Italy in Africa, to thwart which a free and friendly Egypt will be an effective instrument.

Iran is another country in the middle East that has won its independence. The post-War history of this country bears a parallel to that of Turkey. In both these countries, a soldier hero brought liberation. Both the countries have adopted western methods to fit themselves for a healthy life in the modern world. But they have differed at a vital point. The Turks

have violently and ruthlessly torn away their ancient culture in their enthusiasm to adopt western life ; the Persians have maintained to a great extent their ancient traditions and Islamic culture, though they have accepted the occidental mode of life.

Unhappily, however, China remains a pawn in the game of world Imperial Powers. For over half a century, the industrialised western nations have been having China as an outlet for their manufactured goods ; it has been also supplying them with raw material. The British, the French, the Germans, the Russians and the Japanese have been vieing with one another to wrest as many advantages and concessions as possible from the Chinese. Britain has retained the lion's share of these advantages. All these privileges, commercial and otherwise, have been secured by treaties and therefore they have legal justification behind them, but not moral, because these treaties have been forced at the point of the bayonet. China has been steadily losing its independence and accepting foreign control, over Chinese custom duties and over communications by water and railways. Young China, finding the Manchu King incapable of

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saving their interests deposed him and set up a Chinese Republic, under the guidance of Dr. Sun-yat-Sen, who wanted to make China an independent nationalist State. But China is a large country and it is not an easy task to make the whole of it a nation.

The Chinese delegates demanded the revision of the treaties at the Peace Conference. But nothing was done for them, and they felt greatly insulted by the indifference shown by the allies.

There were actually two Governments, the Northern at Peking, which was wholly under Japanese influence, and the other at Canton under Dr. Sun's party, called Kuomintang, which was thoroughly national. The task of awakening the spirit of Nationalism amongst the Chinese was very difficult. The Chinese had been brought up under a civilization which knew not the western idea of Nationalism. The Chinese civilization was in certain respects a superior one; but now, in the changed circumstances, it could not lend the essential spirit and vitality. To the Chinese, family was a state in miniature; the country a sort of a joint family system under a patriarch or a matriarch. Individual

interests were linked with the interests of the whole family. Where family ties are strong, Nationalism finds itself difficult to grow, because the energy of the individual is concentrated to the growth of the family and, therefore, its scope is too narrow to look to the nation as a whole. In such circumstances there grows a sense of moral obligations with the individual to the discharge of which he looks as his primary duty, in the capacity of a son, husband or father. The task of unifying such a nation was therefore difficult and complicated.

Dr. Sun was great in his capacity and sincerity to do yeoman service to his country. Before long he became the idol of the nation. He had brought about the Chinese Revolution, but he failed to carry it through. The Chinese Revolution, like the Russian Revolution, was against the exploitation of Imperialist capitalism. But there was no military organisation behind it and therefore the Chinese revolutionary Kuomintang Party failed. Again in 1924, it was reorganised as a militant party and formed a nationalist army. Dr. Sun died in 1925 at Peking while trying to win the war Lords, the military governors of the northern provinces,

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where they were waging a civil war for the control of the Peking Government. To take advantage of these dissensions of the war Lords the nationalist leaders at Canton decided to march north and bring the whole of China under the Nationalist flag. Their armies were led by Chiang Kai Shek, who succeeded in capturing Hankow, and it seemed that the National movement was going to succeed.

But Kuomintang had split, and there was its weakness. On one side were the merchants and middle class men, who wanted a constitution that would give them opportunity to carry on their business successfully. On the other side were the Revolutionaries who stood for the redistribution of wealth, on the basis of Soviet Socialism more or less. The Army General, Chiang Kai Shek, whose sympathies were always with the Right Wing, took advantage of his position and set up a Government at Nanking independent of the Hankow Kuomintang, which further broke up on account of the dissensions amongst its leaders. The whole nationalist organisation practically fell in the hands of Chiang, along with the army. Chiang's Government was not a true Nationalist

Government as was conceived by Dr. Sun. The Capitalists and the land lords all supported Chiang ; but in fact he became another war Lord, at whose hands the workers and the labourers suffered rather more ruthlessly. Kuomintang, which existed in form and not in spirit, became an instrument of torture in his hands. The nationalism was thus exploited.

As a reaction to this movement a new Left Wing was created ; a rival Kuomintang Government was set up once again at Canton in 1931, based on Soviet Communism. So China continued to be torn by civil war, hindering the cause of national independence and offering fresh excuses for interference by Imperialistic Powers—of which Japan in particular was only too ready to take advantage.

Such is a brief account of a few of the dominated countries, striving for and gradually winning their indepedence from the more powerful ; and to this category belongs the most important and the most resourceful of all—the sub-continent of India. To this we shall refer more particularly after dealing with certain further aspects of this general situation which claims attention.

CHAPTER IV.

Thrust for Aggression.

IN Italy the struggle for liberation may be traced as back as the time of Mazzini. Some constitutional reforms were then introduced and, according to the 19th century ideas of freedom, parliamentary or constitutional monarchy was established. But the illiterate peasantry stood in the way of successful working of the parliament. The result was a sort of an oligarchy, which ended in corruption and confusion, on account of the absence of any solid basis, economic or political for the growth and working of the parliamentary system in Italy.

There was discontent prevailing throughout the country before the War. Strikes were frequent and labour was organised as syndics. Both the elements, revolutionary and the reformist, were present in the body politics of Italy. The difference between them came to be distinctly marked at the question of Italy's entry into the War. The Socialists were against the War and grew revolutionary. However, the Roman Catholic Church was an important

factor to be reckoned with in the political working of Italy, and was a great obstacle in the way of a Revolution on the Russian method.

Italy was thus badly divided and had no vitality to shake off the feeling of "inferiority complex," which had grown in the face of the expansion of Great Britain and France as Imperial Powers. They were conscious of their glorious past, and felt they were born to be great and not to occupy a second rate position amongst the European States. They aspired to be a member of the Concert of Europe on equal terms. Italy had failed as a European Colonial State, and had hitherto been a loser in Imperial enterprises. Anxious still to carve out an Empire somehow, and it was for this reason that Italy began bargaining as to which side it should take in the European War. The wild promises given by the Allies won it to their side, expecting to come out as a great Power at the conclusion of the War.

But a great disappointment was to come. The Italians felt the greatest resentment at the terms of the Versailles Treaty when they found they got nothing out of it to meet their expectations. The situation afforded a good

chance to the Fascists under Mussolini. In 1922, a massed march on Rome was organised, and squadron upon squadron of Fascists garrisoned the towns near the capital, forcing the King to yield to their demand to form a cabinet under their leader. Having thus achieved power, Mussolini set himself to improve the economic conditions of the people. Italy is not a rich country; two third of the land is mountainous and sterile, nor does it possess mineral resources. Mussolini established a sort of central control over agriculture, industry, finance and labour. By propaganda, the spirit of Fascism was instilled in every Italian heart, young and old. The children in schools were taught to look upon the leader as infallible, and were disciplined as soldiers even from the earliest age.

Italy must have her colonies, like other European nations it was decided to restore to the Imperial glories of the past. Straight the knife of aggression was driven into the heart of Abyssinia and in the face of the civilised world, in the 20th century of progress and justice, the absurd claim of civilising the backward people was cynically advanced, and the

innocent people of Abyssinia were insulted and exploited. The world Powers, who could have stopped this wrong being done so bluntly to a free and non-aggressive nation, being selfish and anxious to preserve their own interests, practically kept quiet. This silence, on seeing a sin being committed, has amounted to submission to a wrong if not to a charge of being an accomplice to the crime, and is bound to have a reaction, as every sin must have. So long as the world conscience is not clear and the punishment of committing such wrongs is not given the world is not safe and stands at the point of its own destruction.

Likewise, Germany also feels herself rather crammed and cribbed in the narrow reconstruction of post-War Europe. The rise of Nazi party and its activities have already been renewed elsewhere in this work. The repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles and the righting of all the wrongs from which Germany has suffered since 1919 has been the main plank of Herr Hitler's foreign policy. Consequently, German aggressive has been directed mainly towards bringing all the Germanic people within the fold of the Third

Reich. More particularly, Germany in defiance of the imposed Treaty of 1919 has militarised the Rhineland. She has recovered the Saar Valley—the return of the Saarlanders to Germany was determined by an overwhelming plebiscite. Herr Hitler carried out the Nazi *coup d'état* in Austria in March 1938, and supplanted the hostile Government of Schuschnigg. Latter in the same year Herr Hitler detained and got the Sudeten land of Czecko-Slovakia at the point of sword. The repercussions of the latter event in Europe have been sufficiently startling to make Germany by far the most powerful nation in Central Europe.

Nor has the seed of evil taken long to find other fruitful ground in which to grow, as will be seen if we turn to condition in the Far East.

The rise of Japan has been a miraculous one. Only seventy years ago, it was a backward country, still living in the mediaeval ages. It was cut off from the outside world by its own laws and conservatism. Only in 1867, Japan opened its frontier to foreign traders and adopted an attitude of mind ready to imbibe

the modern ideas of life. The Japanese reformers of this time brought about a great revolution, social, economic and political, in a few crowded years. The feudal system of the mediaeval times was removed in a sweep and the nobles were divested of their privileges ; the peasants became the proprietors of land ; a democratic constitution based on western political ideas of elected parliament and responsible government was accepted ; means of production were industrialised ; in short, a rationalised State was built and modernised. Japan became a factory of the East and world political power, all during a few decades.

The population of Japan increased. It began to look to the main land for sustenance, and claimed its share in the division of China into spheres of influence that Western Powers were carrying out. The peninsula of Korea was made a part of the Japanese Empire in 1910. Japan was recognised a great Eastern Power after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, in which Russia was defeated in a brilliant naval battle to the surprise of the world. The world War of 1914, came as a boon to Japan and it emerged as one of the first six Powers of the world.

The War brought a huge profitable business to Japan.

Prosperity increased population, and the need of expansion—let us say, aggression—over lands and interests of others was greatly felt. Modern industrialisation of the means of production, even in the small islands of Japan with about 56 millions of people, created needs for foreign markets for their goods. The Japanese, as true patriots, would not prefer to emigrate and live in other lands; for, to them, their trees, leaves and flowers, the very land and waters of Japan are gods and fountains of Japanese life. The ever growing population had to be maintained, and there seemed to be no other way but to industrialise all the natural resources of the country.

There are three important parties in the political field of Japan. There is what is called Seiyukai, which is a conservative party anxious to develop the internal trade, believing in Government help for industry and agriculture. Another is Minseito, which resembles more or less a liberal party and is anxious to develop foreign trade, encouraging good relations to be established with foreign nations. But the most

effective and important is the Army, which has great prestige and influence both in the country and with the King. The Army of Japan proposes to be strongest in the world and to maintain itself by conquest. The two parties, the Seiyukai and the Minseito are naturally antagonistic to the militarists. They resent the huge expenditure of the Army, which is a great drain on the country. The two parties claim a majority in the Japanese Parliament; but inspite of the opposition of the majority the Army holds the power in hand and it is the Army alone that delivers the goods. The two parties are, no doubt, benefitted indirectly by the policy of military expansion that the Army has before itself.

The Japanese want to hold a monopoly of the immense Chinese markets, which are also claimed by Powers like the British and the Americans. Japanese aggression into China is a matter of concern both to America and the British Empire. The policy of America towards China has always been that of an 'open door', *i.e.*, equality should be given to all the industrialised countries to sell their goods in China and no annexation of land should be

effected by anyone of them. Japan does not agree to this point of view, claiming that it is its natural right to have the Eastern markets, particularly in China. To the Japanese the interference of America and other foreign countries seems an undesirable and unjust intrusion. In a conference held at Washington the three great Powers come to an understanding in order to avoid a clash between them. Japan gave up her ambition of naval supremacy and accepted a ratio between her navy and those of Great Britain and the United States of 3 to 5 and 5. Japan admitted the principle of the 'open door' and America and Great Britain undertook to abandon a design of creating spheres of influence, thus affording to Japan equal opportunity to sell her things in Chinese market.

The world realised that Japan had a healthy mind, true to the keeping of peace in the world. The Japanese militarists were merely seeking a breathing space, as they realised the difficulties in which they would be involved at home if the nation went into war at that juncture. The earthquake of 1923 seriously hindered their plans of carrying aggression into China. For ten years Japan pursued a policy

of peace after the Washington Conference. It managed to make the Army as strong as possible, though avoiding any action in the face of provocations which might have brought her to an armed struggle with America and Great Britain. The restraint shown by Japanese statesmen during this period was remarkable. The world crisis of 1930 also hit Japan very strongly. Its trade fell by nearly a third and a great economic depression was felt. The farmers and peasants in Japan were hard hit; the price of commodities fell heavily. There was no other way for Japan to come out of this crisis except that she should enter into some war.

In 1931, a mere explosion of a bomb on the South Manchurian Railway afforded a pretext for action. At once Japanese soldiers invaded the country and the intention to establish a puppet independent government of Manchuria under Japanese Military control was soon revealed. This undisguised aggression shocked the European nations, which had never thought that expansion and colonisation of backward countries could also be taken up by an Eastern Power like Japan. Both Japan and China were

members of the League of Nations, and the Chinese appealed at once to the League under Article 11 of the Covenant, whereupon the council ordered Japanese troops to be withdrawn completely from Manchuria. But the Japanese defied the order. Every Chinese army in Manchuria was defeated and Japan declared that the three Eastern provinces were the independent States of Manchucuo. The new States had Japanese advisers in every department and its military force was composed of the Japanese Army.

The League, finding its authority so bluntly defied, sent a commission headed by Lord Lytton to report on the situation. The commission reported that the action of Japan was not justifiable and recommended that the Powers should refuse to recognise Manchucuo. Japan retorted by withdrawing from the League.

The same old argument that stronger powers had been putting forth for controlling backward areas, that they govern to rule the weaker people in their interest, was advanced, but the fact remained that Manchuria became a Japanese Province. Setting aside all other arguments, there is one point which we want

to put forth, which is contained in article 8 of the League Covenant of 1919: "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." Japan had violated the spirit of the Covenant and flouted the machinery that was brought into existence for outlawing war.

Japanese incursion into the mainland of China was renewed again in 1937. China is being overrun by its militarist neighbour. Japanese forces have already taken Hankow, Shanghai, cut China off from most of its port and railways after inflicting colossal loss of life and property.

Thus Japan has tried to solve its problem of supporting its over-crowded population and meeting the economic crisis. The success in Manchuria and in the mainland of China has made the Army of Japan very popular. Japan has become very strong and has asserted now openly that it could no longer tolerate further aggression in eastern lands at the hands of the white races, that Japan is the Saviour of Asia and Asiatic civilisation against Europe and America.

But things could not settle to real peace. The rule of the militarists could not be anything but aggressive. It was a rule which adopted a philosophy of the dictators of Europe to guide the Japanese soldiers. The service of the State as the highest good and the preservation of the purity of the race, were the sentiments that became supreme in the minds of the Japanese youths as in Germany and Italy. The philosophy was named Kudo, which asserted the superiority of the Japanese race and set a Japanese national ideal the spread of which all over the world was declared to be a sacred duty of the Japanese.

It also laid down a duty of the Japanese to save Eastern peoples. It was good that Japan stood against white peoples' domination particularly over China. Yet it must be apparent that domination by the white peoples or by the Japanese is bad : the one does not differ in its effect from the other.

The militarist spirit continued to be uppermost and war preparations in the forms of increasing military expenditure were undertaken. The Japanese thrust for aggression into China was not long in being renewed, resulting in the

desperate and bloody fighting of the Sino-Japanese war.

So has Japan copied what is called the Western idea of progress—a progress which is evasive and illusory, for it is devoid of the spirit that distinguishes the real from the unreal.

CHAPTER V.

The Dark Side.

IN the changed circumstances of the world the fear and hatred working amongst nations are liable to bring incalculable misery and unimaginable disaster. The nervousness spread over all the nations entertaining these feelings of fear and hatred against one another is made manifest in the great rush to arm themselves. Contrivance after contrivance is being invented and organised to bring about vast destruction and to torment mankind. Feelings of humanity are nowhere to be found in these feverish preparations. A few international laws that were introduced to form a code of international conduct are being observed in their non-observance, whenever it suits the purpose of one or the other nation. Disaster and cruelty, the like of which was never imagined, today hangs over the unprotected world. The hasty arming of the nations may at any moment rush the whole world into the horrors of a disastrous war. Europe is rendered a volcano that may burst into eruption without warning

it and tear into fragments.

But this state of affairs is not likely to last long. The present patch work of Empires and the States that have been set up is bound to lose itself as the world advances and the people become of international mind. The new life that is dawning throughout the world will not take a thousand years to come. It is working like electricity and we hope that in a few year only, a great Revolution in the thought of man, unprecedented and unparalleled, may be witnessed. Every minute that is passing is revealing new ideas, ways of thinking, social, economic political and even religious changes of outlook. International thoughts and relations are effacing the national boundaries and destroying the time honoured traditions. The world is under liquidation and a struggle is taking place for the drastic reconstruction of it into a new one.

A great human energy is set free which is seen in almost every aspect of life. The human population of the world has monstrously increased, and individual life is more active and working than it was before. This energy is a great force which cannot be resisted, and which is sweeping aside everything that comes in its

way, as can be clearly seen in the stupendous work that man is doing everywhere.

The capacity of man has increased to such an extent as to involve huge wastage. The various problems that face the world have arisen more or less on this account. It is this wastage that is responsible for the bringing forth of new methods of warfare and human destruction. We do not believe that man is born for self-annihilation. The scientific weapons that are now reaching the highest level will not be of avail to bring about a general butchery of all mankind so long as we have faith in the Divine Power. The Engine of destruction might not be used and mankind might be spared. The horrors that are associated with the new scientific inventions connected with the art of fighting are such that man might be too appalled to wage a war.

If the worse happens, it is horrible to think of the miseries and misfortunes that may visit mankind. Man having spent so much on the scientific machinery of warfare brought into existence for his own destruction, might find himself bankrupt and there might result universal unemployment, starvation and death.

Gas warfare might bring in its destructive train severe pestilences. In a variety of ways, fall in world population may take place. But it is impossible for the whole of mankind to be extirpated. Man, as an image of God, will yet survive, and will be here to sing his eternal song that will never be silenced so long as he, by His Grace, exists.

But there is not any doubt that scientific warfare is developing most dangerously. The sufferings that innocent men, women and children may be put to by the agency of machinery that is being prostituted for human destruction are beyond imagination. The cruel disaster to which we are all drifting needs be avoided by a speedy change to a better condition of thought. The firms that are busy making ammunitions and dealing in the instruments of destruction may be making fat profits, and it may not be possible for them to look to the human side of their business ; they may have influence with leaders of Governments which tender to uphold this atmosphere of self-destruction for their own monetary ends. But we have hope that in the long run better understanding will prevail and the common

people will realize the suicidal policy of a few better placed selfish men.

We hold the hope that the people of this world may not become throat cutters in masses to exterminate their own race. Mankind has reached a certain spiritual stage, and we do not want the selfishness of a minority to pull us down headlong into the ditch of destruction. We do not mean to see the houses of innocent people bombed, and streets of cities littered with mangled corpses. We are determined that somehow or other, these things shall not come to pass. It is time for mankind to take stock of things and cry a halt to this non-sensical prostitution of the power that science has lent to man.

The scientific inventions of the present age are such that they tend to abolish boundaries of nations made on narrow considerations. The present political structure of the world is proving unfit for adjustment in view of the rapid means of communication that man is developing, which are causing great complications and involving unthinkable changes in the social order, in military organisations and in the monetary system. We do not yet know the

means by which our race may be able to adapt itself to the vast and fundamental metamorphosis that is taking place. For centuries mankind has muddled along, with war and conquest and the domination of one people over the other, but now at last all the indications are that a better state of things may be brought about, if the way be sought by truth.

There are three glaring difficulties that meet us in our attempts at finding out the right adjustments. In the first place, everywhere it is being realised that the advance in the art of war, helped by science, is a menace to human security and therefore should be arrested as early as possible, but there appears to be no practical way by which this end can be achieved. The crisis of September 1938 brought many people hitherto absorbed in their own affairs sharply up against the fact that they were living in a world that seemed to be leading to destruction. The second difficulty is the general unemployment prevalent on account of the world-wide economic distress. This distress could be removed by right distribution of the present huge production, but how this is to be accomplished is not yet evident. Thirdly,

there is the problem of finance. Finance has become so complex that to most people it resembles the tricks of a conjuror who amazes the audience with his miraculous productions and yet produces nothing. There is no way yet clear to lead us to right financial adjustment amongst nations.

These are the great difficulties. The reason for the failure to find correct solutions of the problems is the lack of right and sincere men who should sit together and tackle these questions with an open and international mind. Unfortunately, those who are engaged in finding proper adjustments are people whose vision is personal, or at the utmost national. They are people who have adopted a certain way of living, and their prejudices and desires have become part of themselves. Every man is more or less conservative by nature. He has been brought up under certain conditions which he does not want to change all of a sudden, and therefore he resists changes and dreads foreign unfamiliar things, however good they may be. Every man lives in his own narrow world. It is with difficulty that he looks beyond his particular sphere of life into the large mankind

which the changed circumstances now invite him to take note of.

Mankind is more or less bewildered at changes which imply a new order of things in every phase of life. The difficulty is greater in the case of those countries and nations which have inherited long traditions. These conservative nations need adapt themselves speedily to the new scheme of life so that they may not be knocked out of existence. Confusion and nervousness, born of failure in adjusting life to the new circumstances, threatens to express itself in a war wherein the civilised order of society may altogether be dissolved.

This war could be prevented if the nations, with no narrow minds and competitive patriotism, with no love for their waving flags and brave uniforms, join together to seek the solution of modern difficulties. A new mind must work within the nations if humanity is to live. It may be that, after another world war, the change of mind in those who would be fortunate enough to escape death may be accomplished. At present the whole world looks to be in a state of hysteria for the balance of the mind of man has been disturbed. Unless

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the healthy mind, which is full of life, free from envy and jealousy, does set itself at the problem, no solution will be found that may go to establish peace and prosperity for humanity as a whole. It has been the absence of spiritual thought that has brought about this long confusion, and it will be the spiritual outlook that will make man ultimately to live peacefully.

CHAPTER VI.

A Vision Beautiful

IT is a privilege to live at a time when we can look into the past, a few centuries away, when the seeds of the new civilization were sown to grow into the Present, with all its complications, wherein we can vision the wonderful future, into which the New Civilization is going to blossom. The history of the 19th and 20th centuries is the history of mass-production and it has come to our lot in the present age to seek the right distribution amongst men, so that life on the whole may be adjusted to the changed circumstances, and also to visualise the coming future with all its wonders and happy promises of a unique human existence, that is going to be. The coming man will feel wonderfully interested to gauge, through all these centuries of our age, our successes and our failures. What estimate will he make of us as men, is difficult for us to foretell. But to risk imagination of the coming world is not without interest and joy. The changes are happening so quickly that the new

thought is readily to be seen flashing across the globe, provoking serious reactions in the minds of the thinkers and leaders of men who, in their perplexity, are nervous in their attempts at the comprehension of the new idea. It may take a matter of decades to realize the vast changes that are likely to follow the new circumstances. Meanwhile, Revolutions and Reforms are being carried out, sometimes violently, in every department of life, in almost every country and State.

The coming world is essentially to be a different one. Empires and nations are not to remain in water-tight partitions for long. The predominance of Europe that is responsible for the creation of the patchwork of these States and nationalities, is to give way to a better system by which the world is to sustain itself. The different cultures and traditions, that have been cherished for long ages by the different nations and the States, are not going to be the controlling factors as they have been so far. The capitalist tendencies of the nations, on which they are based, do no longer appeal to the better mind. Private capitalist civilization is passing through its last phase. Instead,

the better mind is seeking some other human arrangement, by which unity of humanity may somehow be realized. The collapse of the present day capitalist system is imminent, and the desire to bring forth a new order, based on equality for all, is already manifest in the mind of the masses. Narrow nationalism, the so called patriotism, is losing ground and will not appeal to the individual man in the coming world. The idea that he is for his own nation and that he is an active agent in the exploitation of the others, will not predominate in his activities. He will not share the hatred that the man of today entertains towards neighbouring nations, which attitude of mind is the result of his capitalist tendencies.

The coming man will consider himself man first and afterwards a member of a group, formed nationally, socially or religiously. We hold the patriotism of modern times and the religious fanaticism of the medieval ages which still reigns amongst peoples who have not advanced with the progressive time, as evidences of a diseased mind. The religious zeal of the middle ages is now a thing of the past; fanaticism and martyrdom no longer hold the same

high position. They, at best, were madness. So shall capitalist patriotism lose its ground, for Nationalism is another madness developed by political zeal. Political murders are not a healthy display of what is called national urge. We resent martyrdom and do not hold a martyr aloft, because he is a reaction of fanaticism. There could not be a martyr if there were no fanatically blind person to create him. So there cannot be a political murder in the absence of that aggressive nationalism with which a nation exploits another. Both go side by side and therefore both are bad. The aggressor and the murderer are the product of the same perverted society, which feeds on hatred that displays itself in the actions of both. For have not the martyrs by their sacrifice, let loose a strong wave of hatred to work against the aggressors? It is but blindness of mind to which we submit when we are narrowly patriotic and religiously fanatic. This mental disease will take us some time before we get rid of it. Be that as it may, narrow patriotism and religious fanaticism are injurious to the growth of peaceful man. They have been responsible for the deterioration of man

on the whole. Just as we now look down upon that religious enthusiasm as an unhealthy state of mind and call it fanaticism, so shall the future man, who will enjoy a broader outlook of life, will accuse us of this unhealthy display of narrow nationalism, still working with us.

After the collapse of the private capitalist civilization, there will be found in the mind of man a desire to bring about unity and order amongst all his fellow creatures. It will require social and political science to develop in order to bring about a reconstruction of society. Great experiments in social science and political philosophy will be made before a definite idea settles down to be the basis of the new adjustment. The idea has appeared, and there is a general tendency with the average, rational man of today to have a general and broader outlook. The unity of man is going to be a practical reality. The whole population of the world is bound for it. No doubt there are colossal difficulties to be overcome before the grand idea is a beautiful reality. Will it be the mingling of religions ? Love for sectarian religions is on the down grade and it may be hoped

before long they will all disappear. The idea to seek the fundamentals in all religions, is set abroad. Right thinking people seek truth in all religions, and therefore conversion from one religion to another on basis of faith is no longer to be found quite genuine. The present day so-called religious conversions are based upon some economic, political or social considerations. There is, therefore, going to be a true conception of religion, which is acceptable to all, independent of the different beliefs owned by their respective followers. That will be the only and universal religion of man, based upon truth and nothing but the truth.

The other great event that may be visioned happening in the coming world is mingling of the various races. Will it be a new race that will be born out of the close contact of the different races with one another ? We do not imagine this great blunder being committed by the coming man. To bring forth a new race out of the racial sexual intercourse, it seems to us would be a great disaster; we do not hold that is what will ultimately happen. But the segregation of the races in the way that exists at present will not remain. Will there not be

formed a society of man accommodating all men of all nationalities? There are at present marked differences in the development of the different races. There is an Aryan race, on the one hand, that has developed itself after a struggle of innumerable ages, and on the other hand there are savages who have made little progress. The better men will have better chances and better expression of life. It is, therefore, difficult to think that equality in the literal sense will be established among these different races. No doubt, men, no matter to which race they belong, will be afforded equal opportunities in the coming world. We think if the world is to be successful in the making of the higher-type man, it will find some other solution than the formation of a common race, created by the union of all.

We believe the caste system of the Hindus is a truth, and therefore it must hold good in all circumstances. The coming world will have to grow a new type of caste system, if it is to sustain itself, and man to live amicably and comfortably. The society of man is divided into different races and they naturally occupy different positions in the scale of their development.

The better developed race will have a superior place to that of the backward one. But difference will not be based on anything obnoxious like hatred and contempt. Differences among men and races have got to be. This is but natural. Any attempt at their elimination is a mistake and is bound to end in a failure. What is required for the making of the healthy society is to purge it of hatred and prejudice, which get associated with the differences and cause inhuman wrongs. All men are to be equal with regard to opportunities that should be afforded to them. That does not mean they are equal in capacity and intelligence and are equally developed.

Self-control, society control and race control have to be enforced, however great the mixing up and coming close together of the different nationalities and races may be. Even when the world will be one, like a big city with vastly improved means of communications, where the outlook of man will be international and universal, the natural differences amongst men and races will be admitted and the social working based on the differences, free from exploitation and the evil of narrow-mindedness.

The structure of the society will be taken into consideration as a whole, so that man in general should grow and progress, and not that chaos and disaster should over-take him, as is being witnessed in the present age under the working of democracy and the perverted idea of equality for all.

In the great closing up together of all nations, religions, and races in the coming world, we think there will be no communal, national and racial quarrels; for when once physical and national barriers are removed, there will be little scope for petty and narrow minds to display themselves, nor will there be religious and political murders and lynchings, nor will there be the foulest crimes glorified in heroic colours by the ignorant and the fanatics. We accuse the religions of the medieval ages and hold them responsible for the creation of hatred and bigotry amongst men. Subconsciously hatred had been fed by the religious systems during the last ages, so much so that it has taken deep roots in our life. In all persecutions, political, social and religious, it is this hatred that works behind all human high handedness. Not only that, but in the

daily life of an average man in the present age, half the life's activities are based on hatred, which we fail to perceive.

When the healthy state of mind is allowed to grow free from hatred, full of love, there will be no differentiation between the high and the low, the Brahmans and the Sudra, the white and the black, the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the Germans and the French, the ruler and the ruled. As long as hatred is the basis of all our life's activities, any adjustment for creating equality will not bear the desired fruits. The general levelling of all men will not bring in peace, for forced adjustments, in the place of natural distinctions, merely create greater chaos and misery, and fail ultimately. In the presence of love amongst all the brothers of the same family, there do not arise any differences, though one is elder and enjoys better privileges than the younger one. On the other hand, if once hatred gets in, any amount of equality, however vigorously and skilfully enforced amongst the brothers, will result in bickerings and misunderstandings. In short the essential condition for peaceful growth of life and progress is the healthy mind.

It is mental hygiene that is growing to be the need of the day, so that the coming man may be able to make use of all the great means and resources that will be placed at his disposal, and live a wonderful life, free from mental diseases like hatred, jealousy, anger and the like. It is the purification of mind that will solve the complex and intricate problems of the present world. The real business of life is to live a life in all its fullness, which can be enjoyed only when one has practised a control over his passions, anger, greed, attachment, and arrogance. It is with the help of such self-control that justice, peace and equality can be established. Evils like sexual incitations that are growing at present must be kept down, and instead a system of sexual hygiene be introduced amongst young men. It will be an important duty in the coming world for the responsible man to clear the soil of the human mind of these objectionable weeds in order to make it suitable for the growth of the New Civilization that is to blossom in all its glory. The desires and the traditions that are rooted deep in the mind of the present man, will have to be removed. Man will have to be regulated

in his habits and his mental outlook broadened and made healthy, so that the advance that is to be made may not become a danger to the man himself. This will have to be done through the science of education, supported by psychological study and research. The Great Revolution will be a revolution brought about in the mental working of man and in that the success of the future man in his new circumstances will lie. It will be the changing of the real man.

The school master in the coming world will not be a drag on mankind, as he is at present, possessed of conservative tendencies, living centuries behind his age. He will be a dynamic force that will work out the Revolution, through education, which will be for the preservation and revivification of the progressive processes in human affairs. Preserving the old traditions will not be the aim of education with him. He will be a great experimenter in the social and the psychological sciences, searching ways and means, so that man may be able to adapt himself to altogether changed circumstances, where there will be no traditions, customs and habits to give him guidance, for

the changes that are taking place so rapidly in the physical world around us are far ahead of our psychological development. Therefore, it is in the study and development of social science, which will bring forth a new social structure in which the coming man will grow, that the solution of his problem will be found. It is deep in the sub-stratum of the individual life that the Revolution will have to be wrought, so that his mental attitude is wholly changed to be in harmony with the changed circumstances.

All this change will be brought about not by an external force, but by a slow and steady process that will work in the mind of the man. It will be an educational process culminating in mental evolution. There will be no persecution, no direct or indirect violence applied at the breaking up of the old and the present day life. The change will be accomplished by the internal force of education which will arise from within the man. Such a transformation is seen even at the present time, under the influence of modern education. Old values and traditions are being ultimately given up and through education and propaganda, the mind

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of man is changing. Persecution always obstructs the way to progress and seldom attains its aim, and therefore it cannot be the right method to bring people to one's own way of thinking. It is thus that the coming man will be taken out from narrow-mindedness, national or religious, into a progressive, liberal and cosmopolitan outlook. Religious sentiments are yielding to national aspirations, which in their turn will be overcome by international, human and universal considerations. Thus united manhood will come into existence and the sacrifice of man in his ignorance, whether propounded by religious, social or national leaders, will come to an end. Every human being, when free of such shackles, will attain to his self-fulfilment.

We are bold enough to imagine that the time is fast coming when faiths and beliefs that have hitherto divided mankind into warring and opposite camps, misleading and wasting human energy will no longer exist. All such institutions, religious or otherwise, that aim at a separation of people from the main body of mankind, giving a stamp of their own, will soon be wrecked against the rock of

a broader and tolerant outlook that is possessing of the modern man. The people will get themselves busy with things real and truthful, rather than be associated with organisations based upon superstition, ignorance, emotional and sentimental appeals. The real goal of life will be the seeking of truth, not through groups labelled as Islam, Christianity or Hinduism, but through scientific study of the inner and the outer man, seeking ways and means by which the fullest realisation of life may be comprehended, so that people may live their full life and enjoy pleasures that do not injure other persons. Without any of the repressions or suppressions that are imposed in one way or the other in the present age, the coming man will enjoy his legitimate expansion. The whole world will then open itself before him and, within certain limitations, he will enjoy his liberty, free from the struggle that he is carrying on at present for his physical existence and for the fulfilment of the material desires, with all the evils and sins that at present engage his whole energy and life.

Geographical situation largely influences the differences between man and man. Complexion,

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dark or fair; stature, short or tall; structure, weak or strong; all depend to a great extent upon geographical conditions. The different regions give different and distinctive characteristics to the individual who is born and lives therein. His language, culture and religion have the reflection of his geographical habitat. A man living in the rich plains is different in habit, outlook and ambitions from one living in a desert or on a mountain. Not only that, but one habituated to life on a mountain finds it difficult to live in a desert or on a fishing island. Differences in temperament, dress, food etc., arise out of the geographical situation. Consequently, on the whole, the man with his religion and political institutions of one place is altogether different from that of the other. It is difficult to find a man who can feel quite at home, no matter wherever he may chance to be placed on the globe. If this earth had been flat and uniform, with no mountains, plains and oceans there would have been the possibility of having men of the same nature, habits and views throughout the world. Such being not the case, geographical conditions have been responsible for the creation of different

peoples. The variety in human beings is there, and is expected to remain there so long as the earth is what it is. But in this vast variety there runs one life, one thought, which is the same and true in all the peoples. The type of man may be any ; MAN in them all is the same. The variety amongst peoples should not make us feel that they are incapable of feeling that all life is one, humanity is one and, consequently, real progress of all is one. All human beings have but one path of Truth, which if followed will take them to the same self-realisation. That which is true for one cannot be untrue for another. That truth is fallacious, if it is not applicable to all. Honesty, sincerity, faithfulness, purity, chastity and love, are virtues that are true to all nations and peoples. Life and death, grief and joy, are of one and one type alone for all men. Desire to be free from entanglements of life, miseries, social inequalities, national jealousies, religious bigotry, is the same in all men. Satisfaction, and contentment, and peace of mind is to be sought by all. It is the Universal Man that is required to run through all the variegated men inhabiting the various parts of the globe, differing in their nature,

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complexion and their expression of life, so that all humanity should be united together, like flowers of different hues and fragrance to form a beautiful nosegay that may decorate our Common Lord's Table. Let every human being have but one aim before himself: that of adding to the glory of God, who is one, Eternal and Universal. Let the black, the white and the coloured peoples of different races, with their different habits and temperaments, formed by the varying circumstances that they are born and live in, be united together for the common aim human progress, such that the whole world may grow increasingly beautiful in the great universe, glorifying this marvellous Mansion of the Lord Himself.

Science as we have already said, has brought about improved communication amongst all men, by removing barriers of distance and time, and therefore it is responsible for forming favourable circumstances for the creation of the united world and the Universal Man. The great beauty of man will manifest itself, when the strong current of love shall flow from one corner to the other, through the hearts of all men. They shall not feel elated in their

selfishness, but look glorified in their happy realisation as a part of a great collective humanity, bringing in its train the fulfilment of life as it ought to be. A new ideology will dawn upon every rational being that he should shape all his activities to one definite purpose of the attainment and the maintenance of the common good of all.

If we appear to be visionary, and too optimistic and unpractical, let us assume that our dream proves to be such and no more, that the good that we find coming to the world does not happen. Then the other alternative is the disaster that will overtake this machine civilisation, which will end in a relapse to barbarism and the ultimate extinction of man. But we cannot believe in this alternative. Man is truth, and therefore he must live. In him is inherent the Divine Greatness, which will enable him always to go forward. His is the onward path, no matter if there are his failings and blunders here and there. The machine age will be purged of its evils, that are patent in the mass misery, unemployment, social inequality and huge private ownership. To be a visionary is a great solace and a satisfaction

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to us, for fortunately we vision the coming things rather optimistically.

We see a fully controlled and disciplined world that is coming. The laxity in self-control and discipline that have followed all talk of liberty and equality in the present age will be got rid of by rigid enforcement of the right control over mind and body, so that the growth of the real man may proceed unhampered and unrestricted. Laxity in private conduct is a great nuisance. Proper control and discipline will bring in right liberty, for really free man is one who is not slave to himself. One who is slave to his own desires and passions can hardly enjoy any liberty, for in his own weaknesses he will yield to others who will dominate over him. Sexual and emotional affections, that are let loose are a great danger. Undisciplined youths, falling prey to their emotions, are a weakness to society and the nation. Sexual crimes, that are increasing in number in these days, are indications of our existing incapacity to understand the right significance of real liberty. This social weakness involves a great waste of energy and time that the coming man will not tolerate.

Marriages contracted under emotional influences are mistakes and weaken the society on the whole. The increasing number of divorces in the western countries is deplorable enough. For the society to be stable, connections of men and women through marital ties, engendering loyalty amongst lovers, are very necessary. A monogamous society is strong and stable, capable of bringing forth better types of offspring. Uncontrolled sexual intercourse is a cancer that eats into the very vitals of society. Therefore sexual behaviour is a serious matter that has a deep effect on the strength and growth of society as a whole.

Birth control, being based on something mechanical and artificial, is not the true solution of the coming man's problem. The real thing that does never fail is self-control. The coming man will devise means to enforce upon himself control, not to have intercourse. His circumstances and life will be such that there will be little scope for him to indulge in sexual thoughts and desires. That is as it should be. People who are busy in the various activities of life do not allow themselves to be over-powered by sex. A contented, self-controlled

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and disciplined man is harmless, and an asset to society ; whereas he who is pursuing sexual pleasures, exploiting and doing wrongs to others for satiating his own passions, is no less than a social plague. In a healthy and busy society this latter type is never tolerated.

The coming man will not entertain vicious desires. He will cultivate an attitude of what must be called a simple mind. Crooked and complex mental working will be discouraged. In a right mind, unhealthy desires are never cherished. The coming man will not be dishonest and insincere. He will not subordinate his everything to mercenary considerations. Gambling and the like devices will be considered social offences of a serious nature, for they aim at the appropriation of things which belong to others. This attitude of mind degrades society on the whole, and will not be allowed to exist in the coming world.

To bring about mental evolution on healthy lines through sound education will be a great task for the coming man to accomplish. Mental growth is very necessary to make the scientific world safe to live in. If we take the present

world as a clear advance on the previous ages, particularly in the physical realm, it is essential for it to grow a good deal mentally and spiritually, so that the right balance and harmony between the physical surrounding and the mental working should be maintained. Restrictions must be put on the general behaviour of man, if it is to improve. It is unsafe to give him all liberty, for he takes it as a license to indulge freely in the satiation of his good and bad desires. No child can grow satisfactorily if the proper restrictions of the parents and teachers are altogether removed. So is it necessary that society must not give the man all liberty that he may do whatever he likes. Discipline and control are necessary for the healthy growth of man.

The coming man will be simple in his life. Simplicity is an essential virtue of a good man. He is free from the useless struggle of meeting many meaningless wants. The modern man is engrossed in finding means, fair and foul, to provide his daily multiplied needs. The coming man will be straight in his dealings, for the coming world will be rich enough to provide him with plenty of food, clothing and housing

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and he will not need to be crooked. The great blessing of a successful society is to enable the individual to live his full life of one hundred years. Man will live a life, virtuous and successful, that he may enjoy the full period without cutting it short by his own blunders. He will not allow himself to be led astray by the various temptations that make him lose the substance of life in the pursuit of shadows.

The young man will no longer be impatient and sentimental. He will have a sounder and fitter body, free from disease, a mind clean and clear and well educated. He will be over 50 instead of being under 30 as he is at present. He will be more social and unselfish. He will be more clear-headed, with more self-control. The degeneration of man is associated with the reduction in capacity of his brain power. The degenerated man's brain is full of unsound associations, clogged with unresolved complexes. He becomes like a machine which is in a state of dirt and neglect. The brain of a healthy man is neatly packed and better arranged, cleaner and efficiently lubricated.

The coming world will be controlled, and the food hunt and food scramble will not be

found. The unhealthy competition for pulling down the contemporary will not form the activity of the individual brain. There will be no longer worry for food, drink, clothing, health and personal freedom. There will be no individual with the need to cheat or rob another. Competition there will be, but it will be free from jealousy. It will be for distinction, appreciation and self-improvement, and not for mutual injury. The present disappointing state of affairs that reveals an ever present and ever increasing blot of crime will not be found then. Our age is an age of insufficiency and it is the acquisitive attitude of mind that is responsible for the filling of the jails by people who have fallen victims to the scramble for money and property. When a man is released from hunger and fear he becomes amenable to creative desires and helpful impulses.

People will be engaged in their work because it will be entertaining. There is a mental satisfaction when a man does something for another. The mere purpose of earning a profit from an employer, a base idea undoubtedly, will not dominate the human mind. But it will give a source of pleasure to workers to see

that their work is helping others.

The unhealthy attitude of mind is to be witnessed again in attempts to break up happy homes. Home should be a place of retirement of pleasure and rest. It is not to be a store house, a place where things from all quarters are to be accumulated. The mania for storing all sorts of wealth, and the hoarding of silver and gold is the display of a corrupted mind. It is no good to possess things and not to use them. Such possessions work as handicaps in the way of man's development and the fulfilment of his life. The idea before us should not be the accumulation of possessions but an expression of right life through things that we happen to possess. Private ownership is bad when it becomes a nuisance not only to society but to the individual himself. His attachment to the property is a sinful attitude of mind, which is unhealthy both to his personal growth and to the peaceful development of those around him. Usury and capitalism have therefore come to be certain evils that society will no longer be prepared to tolerate. Such a wrong attitude of mind will not, therefore, work in the coming man. We do not believe

in that sort of socialism where there will be no place for any private ownership, no home and no family. Nor do we believe that the present system of capitalism will persist. The coming man will not have much attachment for his things, but he will have them for his use. He will rapidly change them for new ones, for his aim will be to use them and not to possess them. He will, therefore, not be anxious to make very heavy and durable things. His residential buildings will not be very large, massive and strong. Small houses will be enough to give him a happy home. He will be fond of travelling, and the conveyance at his disposal will be light and wonderful, enabling him to fly swiftly through the air to any part of the world at will.

Therefore, it will be quite natural in these changed circumstances not to hanker much after private possession, because man will be able to get his needs almost everywhere. His outdoor life, his interests, and travelling will not allow him to stick to his possessions. That is what will be most desirable in every individual, that he should consume his things rather than they become a burden to society, as

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ownership at present is being felt. Consequently, he will not be worrying much about his possessions that make the life of an average individual in the present age a miserable one. A man free from worries and anxieties is a happy man who lives long, and, therefore, man's average age on this globe will also increase. People will live for a full hundred years as the Hindus lived in their good old days, peaceful and satisfied that they had lived well and long.

It will, therefore, be a happy life altogether that will display itself in the coming world. The resources of the earth will also develop, both as regards fauna and flora; more fruitful vegetation will make human life easier and more pleasant. Mineral wealth will also be utilised in greater quantity, for much of the waste of human energy that occurs at present in various ways, will be saved to be applied for healthy productive purposes. Co-ordinated commerce and collective efforts will produce more and more wealth. This will result in increase of the general purchasing power on account of the increasing industrial activity, which will also provide every man with work and do away with unemployment that stares

us in the face as our insurmountable difficulty in this age.

We thus see an ordered economic world-system coming forth with all its glory. There will be no such huge disproportion as now exists in the production and distribution of things. All that waste which is involved at present in private monopolisation, religious eccentricism and social friction, will be saved. All human energy will be applied to bring forth the happy fulfilment of human life. The vast energy that then will be placed at the disposal of the world, will be applied in scientific and spiritual research.

Thus we have visioned the coming world where war will be made impossible and the traditions that set man against man will be got rid of. Servitude and poverty will not blot the fair face of human society. Life will be conducted under proper control with regard to food, housing, transport, clothing, etc. Men will be brought to the state of organised control, and their interests will be socialised and adapted to attain the common and collective good.

But individuality will not be destroyed. It

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will have its opportunity, enterprise and freedom; rather it will be on a higher level of life. The body of mankind will be one single organism of millions of people. Every individual will work, will think, will explore and will use his individuality in all his activities around himself. With the real insight into the existence of man he will get rid of the sense of his narrow individuality. It is this spiritual idea, that we are all but the expressions of Man in us, that will bring success to the coming world. The individual life, the collective life, and the universal life are all but an expression of the real Self, which is individual and at the same time Universal. It is this conception of life alone that is capable of bringing peace and happiness to the whole of humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

British Imperialism.

THE British Empire demonstrates the truth that different peoples and sovereign States spread all over the world with all their diversity in habits and manners, laws and customs, differing in so many ways one from the other, can be blended together and lie within a common political and economic framework. More than within this frame-work war, as an instrument for settling disputes, is not recognised. This coming together of different peoples with different languages, religions and nationalities in the British commonwealth is a happy precursor of that great universal commonwealth of nations that is coming; in which independent and sovereign nations of the whole world will lie together as groups of brother human beings inhabiting the common planet, seeking nothing but the fulfilment of individual life, in the place of exploitation of the weak and jealous competition amongst the strong. We, therefore, look upon the Empire as a great first principle which shows us what humanity could be and

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not what Englishmen are. The old conception of the Empire is no more. The Empire of the monopolists and the capitalists is getting dissolved.

The whole conception of British Imperialism has worked along with the changing circumstances of the world. The British Empire has come to be a great institution in the present-day world and we think it is still destined to play a wonderful and an important part in the making of the new world. The changes in the conception of the British Empire are compatible with the changes that are responsible for the bringing about of the great World's Revolution. Humanity as a whole may be seen in the working of the conception of British Imperialism. To us the British Empire looks to be the principal instrument that has worked out the world's transformation, nay it has been the cause of it. Since the first beginning of the Empire, it has been mercantile considerations that have moulded its destiny and the lure of oversea trade has been its guiding star. All oversea possessions were taken to mean, in the beginning, parts of the British Empire which were to enrich the home country. The outlook

of the British was to utilise the colonies commercially in a way that Britain might prosper. It was nothing but national aggrandisement of England, carried forward to subordinate all the interests of the colonies to this one aim.

This attitude of mind remained with average Englishmen up to the time of the American Revolution, when it was resented and a lesson was given to England that the policy of aggrandisement was wrong. Then followed the acceptance of a principle of giving a sort of self-government to the colonies. The need of Dominion Status began to germinate, and mercantilism was superseded by it. The colonies were given a measure of freedom in their local affairs, but they were required to maintain Imperial ties so that Imperial capital could continue to be invested in schemes of colonial developments and to their own interests.

Colonial expansion became an economic necessity, not only for England but for other industrialised countries. All annexations of territories and the establishment of protectorates and spheres of influences were undertaken to meet this necessity. This was the period of economic Imperialism, supported by capitalism.

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This commercialised Imperialism was still a contradiction, and resulted in a clash between the rival interests. The oppressed people of the colonies clamoured against the oppression of this abnoxious type of Imperialism, even as in England the clash was witnessed between capital and labour. And abroad the rival Imperialist Powers became jealous of one another. On all such fronts, disturbances and commotions began brewing.

The Russo-Japanese war was an instance of the rivalry of the Imperialist nations for expansion of colonies; Industrial strikes in England and in Europe indicated amply the clash between labour and capital; and the national upheavals in Egypt and India proved that the system of unhealthy Imperialism, based upon exploitation of the weak at the point of bayonet, was not acceptable. It was an irony of fate that this economic Imperialism carried all its loot and exploitation in the garb of a beneficent process of doing good to the suffering peoples and of civilising the backward nations. Such an Imperialism devoid of humanitarian outlook involved itself in the race of intensive armaments among great

Powers, which resulted in the catastrophe of 1914.

Rightly it is said, that the world has seen three British Empires. The first ended with the loss of the American colonies and the second with the first shot fired in the world War. The third an alliance of sovereign peoples, is in the making. The second phase that has been named as economic Imperialism, has not yet altogether disappeared. But it is no longer a guiding consideration for the maintenance of the British Empire, with the majority of the British politicians. The European War was enough to bring home to them that Empire could be sustained only by the real co-operation of all its parts, the colonies; which, enjoying their full liberty, should still continue to be the members of a great commonwealth, ready to make a sacrifice whenever there happened to be the Empire's call for its defence. The construction of such machinery is today an Imperial problem. Ways are being sought by which freedom for all the members of the Empire shall be fully maintained—freedom that shall keep their national existence intact and allow them to enjoy all the economic benefits that may accrue to them,

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while yet they are members of the Empire, which shall be a sort of a system of co-operative defence against outside aggression. Thus the Empire has come to embody a system which is to display the principle of collective security.

It is this Imperialism that looks to us as a model for an international peace system, such as we believe is coming in the world. Still, this finer type of Imperialism is but developing ; for the British on the whole lack in sincerity towards the problems connected with India, the main spring of power, and the protectorates. They are prepared to give all to the self-governing Dominions, to develop a system of equal and collective liberty ; but so far as India is concerned it appears that its loyalty to the Empire is yet suspected, and there is fear that it might repudiate its loyalty if it were given as much freedom as the Dominions enjoy. This baseless suspicion is the stumbling block in the way of bringing true peace to the world. So long as India is meted out a step-motherly treatment, the world, we are afraid, will have to wait long before Universal peace dawns on it. This suspicion reacts. There is found growing lack of mutual goodwill and,

consequently, inter-Empire friction in the relations of the Dominions with the Empire.

The Imperial problem is by no means a simple one. The very first consideration at present for any rational English thinker is to find a cause that should keep all these members of the Empire linked together. Given all the freedom that an independent sovereign government should enjoy, the question is where are to be found guarantees to keep the sovereign States attached and faithful to the Empire? What is to be the cause that shall keep them together within the Empire? Further, the present world is displaying various political movements, upheavals and commotions, seeking adjustments to be in accord with the new circumstances; and in this struggle, if a Dominion, a member of the Empire, seeks to bring about changes in its political Institutions, the question arises how far will it be able to retain itself within the Empire? Could it be possible to have a communistic Dominion within the Empire? Once the principle of making all members of the Empire free and independent in their internal working is accepted there is hardly any reason to feel nervous if a Dominion

develops its own political system and does not adopt or copy the system of the mother country. There is nothing that could be called a common political system which a colony should develop in order to continue as a free member of the Empire. What, then, is to be the binding link amongst the dominions, is the question that baffles English statesmen today. There must be something which shall keep the members bound together under the Empire, if it is to sustain itself in the New World. It is impossible to oblige the free Dominions to remain within the Empire without their explicit consent. It is by virtues of their consent given willingly, without any coercion, direct or indirect, that the Empire can exist.

The Empire will have to grow to be a commonwealth in the real sense. As yet it is a sort of a dependent Empire, as all the members are not yet as free and independent as they ought to be. Still the plea of British tutelage is advanced in respect of some. It is still thought to be a welcome duty of the British to work the colonies till they are fit for self-government. This is a perverted idea and a false plea, which needs to be overcome so that the Empire

may be saved and the growth of the world into a commonwealth of nations be ultimately brought about.

We, as Indians, regret very much this attitude of the British politicians, that we do not enjoy their confidence nor the fullest liberty. Our regret is all the more great when we find that our backward position amongst the nations of the world is the direct cause of much of the trouble and suffering into which humanity on the whole is involved. The light of India must soon be released to illumine the world and make man better, that he may be fit to inherit the beautiful New World. Without this light of truth, which is our heritage, the world is dark and must remain so, as long as ours is an unfortunate secondary position amongst the progressive nations of the world. We have spiritual and cultural lessons to give to the world. Once we get ourselves freed from the political and economic limitations that are put to our legitimate expression we will grow a happy and a healthy society, once again a strong nation to shed our vital influence on the world's problems. The world's darkness will not be dispelled unless the spiritual light is once again kindled in the

life of man. Let pride of race and colour be overcome and India be given its legitimate place in the comity of independent nations. India is ready to embrace the West. White-man's attitude of superiority and domination over the coloured races, that is bringing forth the undesirable alienation of the mind, should change. It is then alone that the Empire will really enjoy the mutual cohesion amongst its component parts. The Imperialist politicians are mistaken if they feel satisfied that, the globe having been apportioned territorially in their favour, they can afford to be indifferents and do nothing further when the colonies are groaning under subjection. Their expension and acquisition have grown to be the vital cause of the creation of a political volcano in the world which may erupt at any time. And if it once explodes, rest assured, a lot if not the whole of Europe and its civilisation, will be blown up forthwith.

Thus we suggest that the only principle that can keep the members of the Empire intact is the recognition of liberty and equality for all of them. The narrow mind made England lose America. The American Revolution, no doubt,

brought home to the Englishman the blunder which caused him that irreparable loss. What a great Empire it would have been today, if that vast prosperous territory of U.S.A. had also been a part of it. No doubt, so far as the Dominions are concerned, the recognition of the principle that these States can remain united only on a basis of equality, has been admitted, and that has succeeded in keeping them intact so far. The big and the small Dominions, irrespective of their size, enjoy a liberty which has been so far denied to the dependent colonies like India. There, the British power has been autocratic more or less, in spite of various Reforms, which are not always regarded as genuine attempts at making their dependent subjects free and equal in all respects. The theory of Trusteeship is still there, to afford a sort of veil to the real suspicion entertained against these colonies, and consequently there is much resented economic exploitation in favour of Britain. Any measure of responsible Government granted to the Indians is made to look as an unwilling concession, extorted from the Englishman by some sort of pressure. This takes away all the grace that

might otherwise be found in these so-called concessions. It appears that there exists a fear in the heart of the Englishman that the ripening of self-government in colonies would bring forth a disaster to his personal and national interests, and therefore hinders and delays the process of colonial growth.

We are obliged to differ from this attitude of our English brethren. 'Trusteeship' offered as a veil to cover selfishness, will not deceive the world long. What is required is the 'Trusteeship' accepted sincerely to develop and encourage growth of the peoples, through institutions based on freedom and responsibility. Mere political jugglery involving the introduction of Reforms which do not carry the substance of liberty will not take us near our goal, the creation of the real British Commonwealth. Only by giving ungrudgingly freedom to all the peoples, coloured or otherwise, shall the commonwealth grow and be sustained. The culture, the traditions, and the social and the national impulses of the different peoples that have, fortunately or unfortunately, fallen to the care of the British have got to be admitted, while giving them political institutions that

are to form foundations for the growth of their freedom. That is to be the purpose of true commonwealth, all honourable to the magnanimous heart of the Englishman whom the New World will value and honour. Freedom is the one tie that will sustain the coming British Empire. There lies the chance of the Englishman, which he should not lose at any cost. No nation has the right to look upon itself as the only favourite sons of the Lord, destined to rule over others and carry on exploitation of the weaker peoples.

In fact, if the exploded theory of 'Trusteeship' is honestly given up, it will result in mutual benefit, both for the Englishman who is anxious for his trade and the native races in their progress and development. We believe any weaker link in the free commonwealth of nations will always be an undesirable obstacle in its growth. But the help should be genuine and not a garb of some other selfish motive underlying. Let all the members of the Empire be brought on the same level. Where are the reasons that the Dominions should enjoy a full measures of freedom, and colonies like India and other protectorates should be grudged the equal status?

Is it because the Dominions are white settlements? If that were the case, the severance of America and the struggle of Ireland would not have happened. It was the white settlement in America which declared its independence. The American Revolution should be enough to give a lesson to the British Imperialists that it is not safe for the Empire to give a step-motherly treatment to any part of it. Since the Revolution there has been a steady progress towards conceding more and more freedom to the Dominions, which now enjoy their independence to the fullest measure, agreeing at the same time to remain linked to the Empire. So can it happen with the colonies inhabited by coloured subjects. They could as well declare independence like America one day, or remain within the Empire as other Dominions do, enjoying their full freedom.

To us there does not seem any difference between the Dominions and the Colonies, on colour considerations. 'Freedom' is a spiritual sentiment and has its heavenly blessings. These Dominions, as settlements of white men, would at once disassociate themselves from the Empire if their freedom were jeopardised any way. So

long as it is profitable to the Dominions and to England the link is there and the Empire is great. In the same way we can safely state that the people like the Indians would remain within the Empire, enjoying at the same time their freedom, if it were advantageous to their national and spiritual growth. This is a very simple proposition and let there be no apprehension on that account. Here alone lies the seed of growing greatness of the Empire, and here is the way to make it still greater.

Let not the colonies be marked as a sort of preserve for the British industrialists, for that generates jealousies in the minds of other equal powers on account of the unequal distribution of colonial territories, which again disturbs the international relations and causes war. We would attribute to this selfish and unhealthy attitude of the Englishman, the most likely of all possible causes of war. If the attitude is changed, the British Empire with India is such a great force that no nation can think of war. Wars are no longer fought for satiating the desire for conquest, nor for converting the views and faiths of people who differ from those of the aggressor.

It is only economic considerations now that are responsible for the war atmosphere. Seeking markets for buying and selling goods for one's country is, in fact, the real cause of the rivalry that is working in the minds of the nations. The vast colonisation of the past was done with that end in view, but now times are changed. Now circumstances have come to work on the life of man. The conception of politics and economics has got to be changed if nations and Empires are to sustain themselves. Narrowness anywhere, whether in national or Imperial considerations, will cost a lot. The outlook of man is changed, and man as a whole is to be the problem to be worked out in the coming world, in all departments of his activities. Any sin committed against this great purpose of the Lord, the 'Unification of all mankind,' by any nation or Empire, will react on the offenders in frustration and destruction.

The British Empire is a *principle* with us as we have already said—the principle that stands to prove that peoples, races and religions can live together in peace and common goodwill, within a common political framework.

Our faith is based on its elastic nature, which has enabled it to change as the times required. The old mercantile outlook changed into the free-trade policy, which again gave way to what was called Economic Imperialism. So we sincerely believe that the present attitude of the Imperialist, of feeling satisfaction and seeking world peace, not for the sake of peace but for enjoying his superior position, grudging the same freedom and enjoyment to other nations within and without the Empire, will not last long. The Empire is a living principle and life is a change. The new change in the Empire's outlook is to be a healthy indication of its vital existence.

Marx and Lenin studied British Imperialism as a system of developed capitalism, and therefore it had the evils accompanying capitalism.

Lenin wrote in his *Imperialism* :—

“ Imperialism is capitalism in that state of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has taken shape ; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance ; in which the division of the world by the international trusts has begun, and in which the partition of all the territory

of the earth by the greatest capitalist countries has been completed."

Let it be true. But our belief is that the world moves harmoniously. With the development of a capitalist tendency the Imperial policy is capitalistic. Imperialism is Capitalism, when Capitalism is Imperialism. In the development of man, when Capitalism gives way to something better, Imperialism will submit itself to the new order. We see indications all round that Capitalism has run its race and no longer holds today the better mind of the world.

Capitalism in its extreme form as it exists at present must fail. The world's markets can no longer be monopolised by one Imperialist power, and if there is more than one such power, the competition amongst them will take away the profit for which they exist. Capitalism of the past when an Imperial nation could enrich its home coffers and raise its peoples' standard of life as compared with others cannot work now. What is that we notice so apparently in the economic world today? Rival Imperialist groups are indulging in cut-throat competition between themselves in the world markets. This unhealthy

competition is adversely affecting the home markets of the competing groups. Therefore the capitalists at home cannot be happy, and will not long support Imperialism which is proving of little benefit to them. All the advantage that expansion of Imperialism could bring to the home country, by creating colonial markets where surplus output was sold for native consumption and where home capital was invested for introducing modern machinery, has reached the maximum point. The expansion of Imperial Capital has reached a point at which it is no longer active and advancing.

These circumstances are not favourable to Imperial Capitalism. An unfavourable condition of capitalism will bring forth discontentment and dissatisfaction among the British working class which, finding its standard of life sinking through the weakening of Capitalism, will not be satisfied with Imperialism. The discontented working class in England will form a problem, the solution of which will only be found in the better state of affairs in the dependent colonies. The transformation of the vast colonies like India and British Africa, to be independent States within the Empire, will

improve the economic position of the teeming natives, raising their standard of life in the absence of the Imperial hand of exploitation, and bring in better and prosperous trade, which will again have its effects on the labour problem in England, for better trade will mean a better financial position to the working class.

Such has come to be the inter-relation between the prosperity of the British labourers, and the liberty of the colonial peoples. The two problems are so closely linked that there looks to be God's purpose behind Indo-British connection. The situation is arising that British statesmanship will find it very necessary to grant better political circumstances to the subject peoples in the colonies for the sake of improving the condition of the British labourers, even if not for consideration for the poverty-stricken masses of the colonies. It is becoming quite clear day by day that problems of England will be solved by a better attitude of mind displayed towards the colonies. The more the colonies will enjoy freedom, equality, friendship and better commercial and political relations, the easier and safer will it be for England to maintain its Empire. We may even

say that the colonial revolution is likely to take place, not in colonies themselves, but in England.

Thus we notice that the change in the world conditions, have also brought about a change in the conception of the British Empire. It is an Empire going to be a commonwealth of sovereign nations. We are sure the rich statesmanship of the English will devise the appropriate machinery to work the new Empire. To us, as we have stated, the Empire is the greatest force which could unite all mankind, for which it is necessary that the British Empire should grow out of the narrow conception of nationalism or internationalism. This is not only very desirable but necessary, for the alternative is the great world disaster.

There are two things that may happen in the world before long. On the one side there is the vision of a well-controlled world organisation, that will have one politics, one economics, even one aim of life, wherein men will live happily and prosperously. On the other hand there is the alternative of a violent decadence of man, which will involve the break up of all that is moral or spiritual in the heritage

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that he has built through his long struggle towards civilisation. But we believe in man as an image of God, and not of the devil. Therefore the right will be done, and the human machinery is bound to work to his progress and prosperity. Consequently, we have pinned our faith, not as flatterers or sycophants, in the progress and expansion of the true idea of the British Empire as we understand it, which to us is not incompatible with the freedom of India.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Freedom of India.

INDIA next to China is the most populous country in the world. It is a great country of many peoples, of different races, religions and cultures, a country which is more like a sub-continent, but still inhabited by a single nation in every respect. It is national traditions, national consciousness, that make people a nation, and the same have been amply fostered in this land of ancient civilisation. It is a vital country possessing enormous resources, which has always been the source of unconquerable strength to its rulers. We can go so far as to say that the British Empire has passed through all its trials and has succeeded in stabilising its position so gloriously, because of India. The influence of India on the world has always been great; its culture, its religion and economics have always had a palpable effect, not only on its neighbours, but on the countries of the whole civilised world, so far as they could feel their contact with it. The British Empire, because of India, can stand today

against any defiance of its power by any rival nation or group of nations. Should we call this contact of India with Britain accidental ? Why not a Divine Purpose ? Could it have been possible otherwise for a small island like Britain to establish such a vast Empire as to comprise a great country like India ?

Conquest of India by Britain was never consciously planned ; as a matter of fact, no conquest of India was ever accomplished. It was by a series of accidents that, one after the other, Indian States and territories fell into the hands of the English. The aim of the English in their coming to India was merely the seeking of economic advantage. The furtherance of British interests, as was but natural, was their chief concern through the establishment of British rule. Indian trade was therefore of vital importance, which later on resulted in a huge investment of British capital in India. This commercial outlook of the British as rulers of India we take to be responsible for all the developments in politics, economics even in the formation of the new civilization that we feel has come upon the world. The bridging of the distance between India and Britain—

and for matter of that, between India and other rival European countries—was of great importance and, therefore, served as a stimulus to the invention of mechanical means of transport. Thus a new world has come into existence ; and at the bottom of this whole change is that one cause 'India,' which indirectly is working still in the destiny of man.

We venture, now, to go still further and say that the solution of the problem of the freedom of India is the solution of world's problem. India's freedom will make the world free, as its dependence has caused many other countries lose their liberty. Is not the whole British Empire an effort on the part of England to keep English interest safe in India ? For what purpose have the holds over the sea-routes been maintained by the British, if they are not primarily meant to secure the routes between England and India ? Consequently, a whole chain of British dependencies, comprising islands in the Mediterranean Sea, Arabia, Palestine, Persia, etc., had to be created to make safe the British interests in India. Thus Indian slavery has reflected itself in all such countries, and so shall its freedom work for them. India's

freedom is therefore world's freedom, as its prosperity is the progress of Man. But India's problem is a difficult and a complex one, and it is by no means easy to arrive at a correct solution.

We take it to be a waste of energy to give a single thought to the supposition that the English might give up India some day, leaving it to fall to pieces, chaos and civil war, to be occupied again by some alien power—the Bolsheviks, who might come down from the north ; or the Japanese, forming a factor in the Pan-Asiatic movement ; or Muslim fanaticism that might descend from the North Western passes once again, to carry through a design for the establishment of a Pan-Islamic Empire. To us such a suggestion is absurd and quite unnatural; for it is against our very hypothesis that, with all its ups and downs, the world has advanced in its new cycle of life and that the connection between India and England is a link in that advancement, which indicates the hand of God working for the salvation of humanity.

The difficulties of India are surely to be solved, for they are to provide the solution of the world's difficulties. India is the world in

miniature, and therefore its difficulties have to be tackled with a broad outlook. The British rule in India ever since the eighteenth century is but a moment in an age, and even in this short time a great development in social and political outlook has taken place.

The slow pace with which the transformation of the Indian masses is taking place rather makes us suspect something solidly standing in the way of our national redemption. We are not born dullards, nor are our inherent difficulties unsurmountable that our pace of progress should be so slow. The Japanese, with all their Asiatic mentality and circumstances, could make themselves a first-rate power within these few decades. Was it that they were a free nation? The Russians have so miraculously transformed their whole life in only a few years that the old lethargy of the times of the Tzars seems as if it never existed. Was it because they were not dominated and suppressed by any alien rule? Probably this was the only reason. If that is so, this means that a free atmosphere is necessary for the growth and development of a nation—that it should feel its own responsibility in the

success or failure of its government. India's backwardness may be contributed to the absence of a real measure of self-government hitherto granted to its people.

The British Government have been conceding half measures, which do not give real responsibility to the Indians. Such half measures are rather injurious to the relations of the two great nations. In India a strong national movement for complete independence is afoot, and it is becoming difficult to use India as a market preserved for British goods, or to regard it as a part of British military strength against the wishes of the Indian people. These half measures are weakening the British rule in India on the one hand, and on the other do no practical good to the Indians. The real measure of self-government that should be granted to the Indians is to transfer police, military and civil services to Indian control, leaving to the Indians to choose to remain within the Empire or not. It is difficult to say for us how long will such a large measure of concession take to come ; but so long as it does not come, the bitter relations between the nationalists in India and the Imperialists in

Britain will continue, resulting in a sort of repressive government supported by acts like the 'ordinances.' This by no means is creditable to either parties, and the bitterness is likely to grow into dirty and tyrannical acts.

The aim of India's liberty is set in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919 in the following words :—

"The increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire."

This is all true; but when it is going actually to happen is not to be traced anywhere. India is still a long way off what is called a responsible government or "Dominion Status." Attempts made in England to give full freedom to India, will perhaps not satisfy the Indians on all points. It is the people of India themselves that can find adequate solutions of their own difficulties. Foreign attempts cannot dive deep into the needs and wishes of the people themselves, who best know what should be the form of their Government. We hope it

will not take the British long to realise the truth that India is to go her own way and work out her own destiny. Courage and greatness are required of the Englishmen to come forth with the recognition that the Indian people are as good human beings as any other, and that they are as much capable of solving their problems as the Japanese and Russians. The form of Government that they will themselves chalk out, will be the right government. We are sure, if bitterness between the Indians and the Englishmen does not grow to an undesirable extreme during the transitional period, Britain will concede Indian freedom ungrudgingly.

The Government of India Act 1919 was an attempt to fulfil the pledge given by the British Government during the War. We cannot say whether the pledge, as embodied in the Declaration of 1917, was or was not a piece of war propaganda of the British to get help from India, or to prove to the world the British 'bona fide' in ruling over and using the Indian resources in the advancement of Imperial purposes. So much is clear that the pledge had to be honoured, and some change in the form of Indian government, which should savour

of right steps towards freedom, had to be made. Radical alterations in the methods of control were to be introduced into the machinery of Indian Government. The psychological background of the English mind, while agreeing to concede responsible government to India by slow stages, could be gauged as nervous and suspicious; considerations of caution prevail throughout the Act, in denying opportunity to the Indian Ministers to learn by experience and to prove their capacity for working a responsible government. The Dyarchy, as introduced in the Act of 1919, did not bring forth any noteworthy results and the Ministers who were placed in charge of various departments could not do anything freely on account of too much interference by the Governors.

The so-called Dyarchy in the provinces failed; but, committed as the British Government was to a new method according to which the Government of India was to be carried on, it stuck to the principle of advancing to India a responsible government by stages. The Simon Commission was appointed to investigate into the issue and make recommendations for the next stage, to ensure the next measures

towards responsible government. The Commission issued its report in 1930, which was unpopular throughout India. It discussed the difficulties of the Indian situation, the difficulties of religious and communal dissensions, of defence and its bearing on British control, of the position of states in the new reconstruction. The difficulties, handicaps and weaknesses in the way of Indian national growth are sources of strength to the British and means to keep India under control, for the different interests that have been found difficult of adjustment, have been played one against the other to perpetuate the bondage.

The Commission recommended that the responsible government should be made real in the provinces, for the Dyarchy proved no good in any way. It was no whit of responsible government if the Ministers were not made responsible for 'law and order.' But to make the Indian Ministers responsible for important departments was thought not without danger. Therefore, safeguards were necessary, which were ensured by giving special powers to the Governors. These safeguards amounted to negation of responsible government, for

what was given by the right hand was taken back by the left.

The national leaders in a body opposed the Commission proposals and a mass civil disobedience movement was started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, whereby the prestige and power of the Government was greatly undermined. Then followed the Rule of Ordinances. The power of the Governor-General to issue ordinances was invoked. Indian leaders were arrested and the strength of British administration was amply revealed; it was made clear that the final sanction behind the British was might, which could be discerned quite naked in its application whenever an occasion arose. But repression is not a safe and a necessary part of governmental working. A conference, the first Round Table Conference, was invited to meet at London. The different interests were represented on it, but the Congress which could only represent the national view point, boycotted it. The invited members of the conference were anxious to secure for their own party the maximum of concessions as the price of co-operation in the working of the New Reforms. Being narrow and

selfish in their views, these representatives could not see eye to eye to principles of democracy, which were the life-breath of British political thought, British pride, and British greatness. We wonder what the British must have thought of Indian mentality that rejected the rule of majority, when the Muslims demanded special weightage and reservation of seats on communal lines, in order to safeguard their Muslim culture. Is it not a simple proposition to state and understand that where special cultures and interests are to be safeguarded, democracy is not to be the principle of working the government? Democracy can be based only on common interests and common purpose. Safeguards for ensuring interests are inconsistent with the principles of democracy, and it is in this that failure of these political experiments is inherent. Safeguards for the British interests and the British control, safeguards for the safety of cultures, for the interests of minorities, take away what the democratic British mind pretends to bring into India. It does not mean that the vast mass of the people of India is wholly unfit to be governed by democratic ideas. What it means is that the re-

cognition of the different interests and the introduction of their safeguards, belies the honest attempt at the adoption of democracy in India. We do, of course, hold that democracy is not the best form of Government, and is no remedy for the ills of India or of any country.

The Conference was defective as on it the most important national organisation, the Congress, was not represented. And those representing the minorities on the Conference, were not competent to speak for the whole of India. It was necessary to afford accommodation to the Congress in the Conference if its work was desired to mean anything. Rapprochement between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi was brought about and the Congress agreed to participate in the deliberations of the Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi attended the second session of the Conference. He claimed to be the only spokesman of the people of India taken as a whole. But the communal issue pressed hard by Muslim representatives involved safeguards which could not be reasonably accepted even by Mahatma Gandhi, and the

question of bringing about a joint and a united Indian front against foreign domination remained unsolved. The Indian parties remained divided on the communal issue, giving the British the excuse to perpetuate their rule. Mahatma Gandhi on his return to India was imprisoned, the Congress operations were declared illegal, and the national agitation was put down with an iron hand. The Government announced its decision upon the communal issue, which later on was a little modified under moral pressure of the "fast to death" of Mahatma Gandhi, so far as the depressed classes and the Hindu side of it was concerned.

Then followed the 3rd session of the Conference, which speedily wound up all the issues and the British Government took upon itself all responsibility for the decisions of the Conference. A set of proposals for reform was submitted to a joint selected committee of Parliament for examination and report. The committee was assisted by a select body of Indian representatives who expressed their views on the position in the capacity of assessors as it were. The committee admitted the principle of making the Ministers in the

provinces responsible, side by side with a responsible Federal Government in the Centre, with reservation of departments like that of Foreign affairs and Defence under the Governor-General. This of course created Dyarchy so far as the Central Government was concerned; but the departments so kept beyond the purview of the responsible Ministers at the Centre had very little contact with other spheres of central administration under the Reforms, and, therefore, it was thought Dyarchy would not fail as it did in the provinces under Government of India Act 1919. Foreign affairs were therefore kept as reserved departments. But the manner of dividing the government into parts is curious and inherently defective. It is defence, the army and its expenditure, that is largely to determine the fiscal policy of a country, and there could not be any responsible government if it does not know or have control over its expenditure. With the defence as a reserved department, the responsible Ministers were in a curious position, with regard to their financial policy, for the demands of the defence department over the revenue of a country like India are by no means ordinary.

All these suggestions and deliberations have come out as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is a wonderful document claiming a unique type of constitution. Apparently all the normal characteristics of federal government are to be seen in the study of it. It is a rigid constitution, defining elaborately the federal and local powers, with a federal court to secure due observance of the limits. But the units composing the federation are of two types, the States and the Provinces.

The relation of the federation with the provinces is based on a single system which is applicable to all, but the States' relation with the federation may vary with the different States, for they are not bound to join the federation. An attempt is made to adjust the autocratic form of State administration in the framework of democratic constitution that the Act has brought in. It is a particular and an anomalous situation, and definitely against the rulers of States, whose importance and powers are on the wane. But there are safeguards for them as well.

The constitution is the outcome of a double

mind that tries to uphold democracy and yet is afraid of its working. It is a constitution of safeguards. We look upon the constitution as a hopeless murder of democratic principle so far as India is concerned.

The provincial Governments at their best are a fair display of the British desire to give India a good measure of responsible or democratic government. The Dyarchy of the Act of 1919 is done away with in the provinces, though it has been followed in the Central Government. The popular Ministers in the provinces control all the departments, and there are no reserved portfolios. Of course, the departments like defence, foreign affairs, important taxes, etc., have been placed with the Central Government where they have been declared as reserved subjects.

Such a quasi-responsible government was not acceptable to the people of India. Congress, the most vocal body, representing the national view point, set itself to wreck the constitution. On the establishment of provincial autonomy the Congress decided to fight elections and enter the legislatures to prevent the functioning of the constitution in the way

intended by its framers. In the winter of 1936, the elections were fought and the response that the congress received in the country was phenomenal.

Voters from distant villages marched in processions to the polling booths on foot with Congress flags and singing national songs. It was a great propaganda in favour of the national movement and something in the nature of a mass upheaval was witnessed. The scenes of enthusiasm at some of the polling stations were spectacular. The peasants, the industrial workers, and the lower middle class in general, readily responded to the Congress call, and it was realised by Congress leaders that the mainstay of their strength was the masses, and not the privileged and aristocratic few. The country undoubtedly gave a clear verdict in favour of the Congress, to carry on the struggle of India's independence against Imperialist domination.

It is noteworthy that Congress candidates at many places defeated their rivals by very big majorities.

The elections thus having been won by the Congress candidates particularly in the provinces

of Madras, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa, United Provinces, Bombay and N.-W.F.P., the Congress proceeded to lay down a definite line of action and behaviour for the Congress legislators. It was stressed that the important sphere of activities even for the Congress members of the provincial assemblies, was not confined to the legislatures, but included their constituencies as well. It was admitted that all effective work in the legislatures must have the sanction of the people behind it, and therefore it was required that work within the legislatures was to be co-ordinated with the Congress activity outside. For this purpose it was necessary that every member must keep himself in touch with the people of his constituency and form an active nucleus for Congress propaganda and freedom struggle for India. The primary allegiance of Congressmen and of all other Indians, it was stated, was to the Indian people, and the other oath of allegiance as taken by the Congress legislators in the assemblies in no way affected their primary duty.

The immediate objective of the Congress was to wreck the New Constitution, to resist

the introduction and working of the federal part of the Act and to lay stress on the nation's demand for the Constituent Assembly. The Congress members were to press for carrying out the congress programme and were required to work for (1) A substantial reduction in rent and revenue; (2) Assessment of income-tax on a progressive scale on agricultural incomes subject to a prescribed minimum; (3) Fixity of tenure; (4) Relief from the burden of rural debt and arrears of rent and revenue; (5) Repeal of all repressive laws; (6) Release of political prisoners, internees and detenus; (7) Restoration of lands and property confiscated or sold by the Government during the civil disobedience movements; (8) Eight hours a day for industrial workers without reduction of pay; (9) Prohibition of intoxicating liquor and drugs; (10) Unemployment relief; and (11) Reduction of high salaries, allowances and cost of administration of the Government.

In view of the safeguards and special powers in the hands of the Viceroy or Governors and the protection services, occurrence of deadlocks were inevitable. They were not to be avoided when they occurred in pursuance of Congress

policy. Congress members in provincial assemblies were further to give expression to certain important demands which might not be given effect to in provincial assemblies, such as substantial reduction in military expenditure and in higher civil services, complete national control over trade and tariffs and currency, repeal of repressive legislation, freedom of speech and Press, and opposition to war preparations, credits and loans.

The question of office acceptance in the Congress majority provinces became a live issue and the opinion on it, both in the Congress and outside remained sharply divided for sometime. A school of thought amongst the Congressmen believed that there was no better and more effective way for the Congress to wreck the constitution than by capturing the seat of power and authority. The other school, entirely differed from this view. It believed that by acceptance of office the Congress would degenerate into a body of co-operators, or would precipitate a conflict with the Governors which would go against congress interests. A sort of a compromise was reached between the two sections, as is indicated by the Congress Working

Committee resolution. "The All-India Congress Committee authorises and permits the acceptance of ministerial offices in the provinces where the Congress commands a majority in the legislatures ; provided ministership shall not be accepted unless the leader of the Congress Party in the legislature is satisfied and is able to state publicly that *so long as he and his Cabinet act within the constitution the Government will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers.*"

The Congress decided in favour of conditional acceptance of office. The assurance thus demanded by the leaders of the Congress Party in the majority provinces, when they were invited by the respective Governors to form ministeries, was denied. The Governors could not give the assurance that they would not use special powers of interference as given to them under the Act, for they stated they had no power to go beyond the Act, which did not give them the power to give the necessary assurance. The Congress Party leaders declined accordingly to form Ministry. For sometime a state of political crisis prevailed and both the Government and the Congress were in a dilemma.

Let us quote in part the statement of Mahatma Gandhi on the situation :—

"My desire was not to lay down any impossible condition. On the contrary I wanted to devise a condition that could be easily accepted by the Governors. There was no intention whatsoever to lay down a condition the acceptance of which would mean any slightest abrogation of the constitution..... I felt that this object could not be secured unless there was a gentlemanly understanding between the Governors and their Congress Ministers that they would not exercise their special powers of interference so long as the Ministers acted within the constitution. Not to do so would be to court an almost immediate deadlock after entering upon office..... A strong party with the decisive backing of the electorate could not be expected to put itself in the precarious position being in dread of interference at will of the Governors.

"It has been claimed on behalf of the British Government that the Act gives autonomy to the Provinces. If that is so, it is not the Governors but the Ministers, who are, during their period of office responsible for the wise

administration of their provinces."

However the deadlock continued and the interim Ministries were formed by the Governors in the Congress majority provinces to run the Government for the time being.

Statements were issued by the Secretary of State and by men like Lord Lothian, but nothing approached the point to bring an end of the deadlock. The tone of these statements was very conciliatory and displayed earnest desire that the Congress should take up the responsibility and that the Government would co-operate and sympathise with the Congress Ministers. Lord Zetland in the course of a speech renewed his appeal to the Congress Party to accept office and responsibility of Government.

"I have an abiding faith," he said, "in the great qualities, in particular in the constructive genius of the Hindu people, and in the face of much discouragement I still believe that they are destined to devote their talents to the service of India. Is it too much to ask that they should not spurn the collaboration that Great Britain in all sincerity is offering them, and that they, on their part, should not withhold the co-operation which Great Britain is

asking from them in a common task which is not only worthy of the united efforts of the two peoples but in the light of history is their obvious destiny."

But the deadlock continued and discussions on the interpretations of the various aspects of the Act were entered into. This state of affairs was greatly resented.

Mr. Lansbury while raising the Indian question on a motion of adjournment in the House of Commons said that if, as an outcome of the present distrust and deadlock, the Governor had to operate the Law and carry on without the consent of the majority of the legislators, that would be fatal to the beginning of self-government and would completely discredit the latest attempt to start India on that road.

At last came the momentous pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy. All that he said in his conciliatory tone had already been said by the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary of State. He made it clear that there would be no interference in normal day to day administration ; that the Governor would ordinarily accept the advice of his Ministers ; that in the sphere of his special

responsibilities the Governor would discuss and justify his action before the Ministers and then it would be open to the Ministers publicly to state that theirs was no responsibility in that particular decision of the Government.

The Congress Working Committee referring to the speeches made by Lord Zetland, Lord Stanley and the Viceroy as an attempt to make an approach to the Congress demand, passed the momentous resolution on July 7th, 1937:—

“The Committee feels however that the situation created as a result of the circumstances and events that have since occurred warrants the belief that it will not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers.

“The Committee has, therefore, come to the conclusion and resolves that Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto.”

All over the country great satisfaction and pleasure were felt at the Congress agreeing to accept office in the Congress majority provinces. The Madras corporation passed the following resolution:—

“We offer to the Working Committee of

the Indian National Congress our respectful congratulations on the wise and patriotic decision they have taken, and express the hope that the Governors of the various provinces will so conduct themselves as to enable the Congress Ministers to fulfil the programme of the Indian National Congress."

Messages like this from far and wide poured in. The Indian political atmosphere on the whole at once changed. In the place of dejection, there came to reign in the mind of the Indian patriot hope and joy of discharging a responsibility.

The interim Ministries resigned and the Congress assumed the offices in the six Congress Provinces, amidst spectacular scenes in some places. The occasion was celebrated by Congressmen by hoisting National Flags and singing the 'Bande Matram,' the Congress national song, in the Assembly Chambers. The Congress which was once banned as a revolutionary body, whose offices were searched, property confiscated, workers spied upon, now became responsible for the Government Administration. The Congress has added a lot to its prestige and is no longer considered to

be a body of agitators. A Prime Minister of a Province observed in one of his earliest speeches, immediately on occupying his office:—

“ Village Officers and Police and other Officers of the Government should give all support to the Congress, then only would the work of the Congress Government be carried successfully. Congress committees at various places must be alert and see that Government Officers carried out the instructions of Congress Ministers.”

Congressmen and local Congress committees in their respective areas were desired to conduct themselves as if they were agents of the Congress Ministry.

The Congress Ministers decided to draw a reduced salary of Rs. 500/- per mensem, with house and car allowances. The decision was full of important significance. It restricted the tempting appeal of money in public service affairs. It indicated monetary considerations, born of the mentality of the capitalist system, were a secondary thing. There were to be admitted other motives, other rewards and satisfactions for work beyond the merely monetary return. Besides, it brought about the

removal of vast discrepancies between the incomes of the high officials and the poor servants. It was a practical attempt to rectify the wrongs of the present day economic system. It also brought about a change in the social outlook of the common people. People having large incomes were not necessarily to occupy high social status. Money was not to be the standard to measure the worth of a person. The scaling down of the salary of the Ministers will go a long way to raise high the ideal of service in the estimation of the people.

But there was not to be created a heaven and a new earth overnight. The problems of India are too complex to yield successful solutions all at once. India's development to be free and foremost nation will take some time before it is accomplished. But the Congressmen in the Ministerial chairs could bring about before long an appreciable difference in the general outlook. It was the first time after 150 years that the nationalists in India, who believed in freedom, were invited to assume some powers of Government.

Thank God that, before nationalist India

came to share the responsibility of the Government, through the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi India was reminded of her old culture, as embodied in his teachings of 'non-violence,' lifting the morale of the people by inculcating in them the spirit of love and sacrifice. Besides, his stress on simplicity in dress, food and general behaviour, spoke amply of what may go to constitute Indian Culture. It was therefore a happy experience to see the Congress leaders at Government Ministerial posts, speaking eloquently through their life something of selfless service, in the place of arrogant authority.

We hope Congress leaders have not been caught in a snare, being lured by the grandeur of office, as has been the case with the weaker Indians so far, who seldom rose above their selfish interests and played the tune of their master. To ensure the faithful working of Congress Ministers, a sort of High Command has been instituted, by forming a Parliamentary Congress Sub-Committee who watches and guides the Ministers whenever they find themselves in difficulty. The Sub-Committee is responsible to the Congress Working Committee. Thus to

a great extent it is the Congress that is governing in the Congress majority provinces, so far as the responsible part of the Provincial Government as defined in the Act is concerned.

But still all is not well. There are yet men even in the Congress who are capitalists and rich enough to be able to forego economic interests derived directly from the political positions that they might occupy, but are interested to use the privileged posts to further their economic interests in many other indirect ways. Nevertheless there are men of sterling worth, who on account of their sacrifice and self-abasement are an ideal before the nation. There is no doubt that they are creations of votes, but we do not hold this to be the right and perfect method of discovering a leader. As a part of an organisation, the individual self is largely reduced in its assertion, and becomes the least harmful. With the growing efficiency of the Congress organisation, leaders, even if they by nature may be selfish and narrow in their party outlook, will be rendered incapable of doing a harm.

The coming of these men under the

guidance and control of the Congress, at the helm of affairs has given a reorientation to Indian politics. A new mentality with a tinge of what we call Indian culture may be discovered asserting itself against the egotistic and arrogant mind of the bureaucrat. The Premier of United Provinces, on occupying the office, was reported to have addressed the Government Secretaries that the services under the Congress Ministers had to adjust themselves in the discharge of their duties loyally, so that the policy and the programme as laid down in the resolution of the Congress was carried out. The Congress party had a definite mission before it while coming to the legislature, and to carry out that mission he looked to the active assistance of those in the services, not only of the secretaries but also of the officers in the districts. He asked them to bear in mind that there had been a change from the bureaucratic form of government to a democratic one. People were not only the masters of the Ministers but also of the services.

The policy of the Congress was laid down that the Act was to be used in a way that the objective of India's independence might

be achieved through its working by the Congress. For instance the Congress in the Congress majority provinces could enforce complete prohibition, a moral duty that a morally constituted government should be anxious to discharge. But the economic effect of this one Congress Act as we would like to call it, would give a blow, by no means a light one, to the Government of India's finances. Thus by constitutional working of the Act the spirit of the fight between Indian nationalism and British Imperialism is maintained rather to an advantage to the former. The Act in this sense, is to work as an instrument in the hands of the Congress for India's freedom.

To us the Act with all its defects and handicaps seems to have been converted by the interpretations of Mahatma Gandhi, to work as a boon for the amelioration of India. A miracle has been accomplished. What was considered a thorn has been changed into a flower by the magic-hand of a pure soul. Indian nationalism and British Imperialism, with their own independent histories, backgrounds and antagonistic goals, have been brought

close together to work under the same roof. There is the hand of God working, and who knows but that the two minds have been attuned for a new understanding and a new friendship? An Indian miracle is wrought; for the rulers, with the mentality of conquerors, have as it were extended a friendly hand to be at one with the ruled and the exploited. Though the conquerors may not wish it, yet they have been enchanted by the magic hand of India that, many a time in her ancient history, made Indian Emperors give away their vast Empires in response to the calls of selfless Faqirs. Leaving aside the Mohammedan period in her history, India has been the least bloody nation in her ancient career, and the traditions of bringing about bloodless revolutions must be kept up, for Life in India is essentially based on Truth.

Rightly was it said by the *Indian Faqir*, while advising the Congress to accept office and work the Act to achieve Indian independence: "This office-acceptance is not intended to work the Act anyhow. In the prosecution by the Congress of its goal of complete independence, it is a serious attempt on the one

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hand to avoid a bloody revolution and, on the other, to avoid mass civil disobedience on a scale hitherto not attempted."

CHAPTER IX.

The Soul of India.

INDIA is a pure soul and therefore in its real existence it has not been much affected by the changes in the long ages, through which it has passed. The expression of the Indian soul on the whole has remained the same throughout the courses of political and religious events that have transformed the religions and governments of all alien nations that have come into India. Indian ideals of life even to this day are shaping the life of the nation. We refer only to the fundamental philosophy of life, which is true and, therefore, eternal. It is that conception of the real life of man, that seeking after truth, that divine urge which creates in the right man the intense love and suffering which sustains him and civilised society. But this does not mean Indian life is conservative, stagnant, idle and does not possess elasticity and the virtues that make a living organism to adapt itself to changes. Indian life possesses all such qualities. It is dynamic and vital enough to live not only for

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generations and centuries, but for very, very long ages. But for real vitality, Indian life could not have sustained itself through all those metamorphosis that the world has so far gone through. India has changed and has always accepted changed circumstances, but fundamentally in its outlook on life it has been constant and consistent, for that is the very force of its existence.

We admit life is wonderfully changing, and consequently the coming world will altogether be a different one, but the basic principle of life is one, and it does not know any change. That has been dearly cherished by India for all past time, and we know it will also form the foundation of the coming successful man. Indian philosophy of life admits that the necessity of one age is not the necessity of the other. Different ideas have been predominant in different periods of its history and life. The spiritual outlook of India does not blur from the average life the different phases through which it grows. It affords a wonderful satisfaction and harmony in all circumstances, and therefore it is perfect. There is uniformity of life in all its changes, phases and adaptations.

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Spiritual life is all dynamic. It generates creative forces which do not allow any disharmony to come anywhere in the adaptation of life to the changed circumstances. Indian spirituality does not allow any gap to be created in the conception of life and the life itself. It is capable of giving us an understanding, imbued with the purest wisdom, where there is no erring through the living of actual life. Allowing all the external changes, the internal spiritual urge that is of the right and healthy human mind, the urge that makes the man know of the encompassing life, is eternal and constant.

Indian scriptures contain individual experiences in spiritual struggle of man carried for his self-realisation. They are the experiences of the soul and therefore they are simple, sublime, inspiring and suggestive. The spiritual quest is to be carried by the soul through life, the expression of its existence, and not through the intellect or the reasoning power. The soul of India *i.e.* the quest of truth, is to be found and understood in what may be called intellectual intuition, which is different from intellectualism. Our intellect no doubt has led us to

things which look to us brighter, more hopeful and apparently more powerful. But with all this, still without the recognition of the essence of life, which is spiritual, and which seems to have been thrown in the background in this transitional period, they may still be considered as shadows and unreal things, dark and gloomy, for they do not emanate the light of Truth to guide the man.

The light of truth is eternal and is for ever and ever. A heart illumined with it is the heart fortunate. It is the greatest achievement, the very fulfilment of life. That is the stage of self-consciousness, which no intellect can reach, nor can it be explained. It is something which is to be realised—a light, a joy that is its own. This self-consciousness of the soul of its ownself, is above and beyond the physical, mental, even psychic existence. Our attainments in the purification of our mind, in the development of our intellect, make our psychic existence better, finer, more harmonious and more luminous. Still, the shadow of ignorance is enveloping the being. This darkness is dissipated only by the realisation of the self-luminous *Atman*, the soul. Such is the

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quest, and it is the highest attainment of man. The quest is inward. The light of truth shines within us all and is covered, layer over layer, which are removed in turn by our inward struggle in search of the light. The matter that surrounds the being makes the light dim to be seen. Spirit is not matter and so long as the realisation of the spirit is not attained, the grossness of matter makes the light dim in proportion to its thickness. But the luminosity of the soul is constant. The finer the development of our innerself, the more luminous is that unique Light.

The soul is again neither static nor dynamic. It is beyond our comprehension as such, as is the supreme silence, which state of existence is neither static nor dynamic. The silence does not mean dullness or inaction. It is for ever active and yet static. It is for ever shining and yet dark to us. It is an eternal joy, a joy of freedom from all limitations of matter. It is not that type of joy which accompanies the fulfilment of desires. This joy feels satisfied at the getting of things or at the expression of some inner growth. The expression of the self is a source of joy. The

expression amounts to expansion of the self, and therefore, it is delightful. When hard fought battle is won, the joy is felt because of the expansion of the innerself. The delight is not in the object achieved ; it is in the display of the self of man. Thus the life of struggle, the life of action is delightful, as it is the expression and the expansion of life. Every action projected in the external world is the expression of the self ; self is the light, the Delight Supreme.

Thus we come to the happy conculsion that joy lies in the expression of life and not in the achievement of objects or in the satiating of desires. Therefore our theory brings us round to perform actions independently of the desires of the achievements of objects. Such actions are always pure. They are capable of great accomplishments, for they are the expression of life, which is all powerful. To find a meaning and a purpose in action is to have a narrow view of life, which is not allowed by the Hindu philosophy. Any meaning put in an action, which to us is the expression of life, is to impose limitation on life. A limited and narrow view of life is untrue. Life is

both Action and Silence. It is an unending dance, in which the movements become so poised and harmonious, that they are lost in their own music. The losing of the movements does not mean inertness. That is the highest conception of the living of life which is beyond the flowering of life. Life, according to it, is perfect poise and perfect movement. Anything created of such a life, is its perfect relaxation, which may be found in poetic imagination or philosophic meditation. The product of such an expression is all beautiful, perfect and true.

Such a product is the need of the hour. Life is required to express itself in Truth as enunciated and explained in the scriptures of the Hindus. The Indian philosophy of life at its highest does not believe in the difference between the finite and the infinite. That is the highest stage of human development, of realising and living in the Absolute Existence. This knowledge of the self is true Indian Swaraj, perfect freedom from ignorance and limitations that surround the being. Spiritual life is the life of freedom, that cannot be dominated and exploited by any circumstances. There is nothing that can restrict the freedom

of the soul. The bondage to life is put when in our ignorance we begin finding the cause and the finality in life. Life is eternal, without a cause and without a conclusion. Life is God, who is all Joy, Harmony, Peace and Delight. The seeking of this truth is the right expression of life. All else is false, illusive and dark.

The unenlightened intellect seeks cause and finality, therein it fails again and again. Even God with intelligence, power and greatness is not the true God in the purest conception of Hindu philosophy. God as great Creator and the Cause of the Universe, is an inferior conception. God is the Universe Himself. All is His manifestation. The conception of the Absolute is difficult to be achieved, and yet it is the only true conception. This could only be grasped through purely intuitive process, which is beyond the comprehension of many. Therefore the conception of creative God is advanced, which means God is all powerful, intelligent, capable of creating, preserving and destroying. But this is not the conception of the Absolute, who is beyond all mutations, material or spiritual. The

realisation of the Absolute, brings in a finer and a subtler life, a touch which is divine and dynamic, presenting a constant fellowship with the Divinity.

Such a highly developed being identifying himself with Truth looks upon all that is around him as His reflection. That which is called Nature becomes to him as the spirit thrown out. The Divine is playing in all. Even in the affairs of human beings, the enlightened ones find the play of the Lord. This is the healthiest state of mind, and enables all adaptations and developments to be brought about so easily and harmoniously, for life in all its aspects becomes spiritual. Consequently all our ideas, actions, institutions and undertakings take the spiritual colour. Such were the ancient Hindu Rishis, preceptors of spirituality, guiding governments through peace and war. Theirs was therefore no narrow outlook. Life with them was fulfilment of the Eternal. It was not for dominating or to be dominated, for exploitation of the weak or to be exploited by the strong. All life was spiritual with ancient Hindus. Spirituality was not dissociated from the outward expression of life.

The quest of truth, was inward in the seeking of the preception of the Bliss, or in its outward expression in the performance of actions in the world around. In the absence of spiritual outlook all seemed dark, false and erring.

It is ignorance that is the cause of conflict and which gives rise to false values and false individualities. Truth is all peace. All quarrels, claims and counterclaims are not of truth. Absence of truth therefore is misery and suffering. The heart that seeks the Divine has the grace of the Lord and is ultimately diffused with the Beauty and the Peace. Ultimately the will of the enlightened individual is identified with the will of the Divine. Thus the self is completely removed. How could there come selfishness when self is merged in the higher Self ? Many of our evils originate with our selfishness. To be spiritual is to overcome all evils. All movements of life to a spiritualised mind are perceived through the instrumentality of the Divine. Such a man is more than a man—say, a superman. His self indeed is merged in the Divine and his will is the will of the Lord ; his vision is large and is free from limitations, his impulses are finer and

concepts true. Human will when controlled by the Divine knows no wavering. It is stable and determined, for the eyes of such a man are fixed on the Divine, who for him is shaping and moulding the forces of the world. He is a free being. All freedom is Divine.

We believe there is a yearning for the Divine inherent in man, for man is made after the image of God. He is essentially divine. His state other than divine is born of ignorance and darkness and the various complexes into which the ordinary individual is sunk. The superman is the salt of civilisation, for it is he who releases inspirations in man's cultural growth and adaptations to the changed circumstances, enabling the individual and society to proceed on the right course of human evolution. Such were the personalities of the great prophets and leaders. The present changing world needs supermen to guide the new cycle of life that is going to be, safe from the wars and disasters based on huge organisations that threaten Peace within and without.

Such is the conception of the philosophy of life with the Hindus in India. Hinduism is conservative but elastic. It is conservative

because it associates all thoughts and aspects of life, that are always changing with the changing time, to the ancient currents of Indian spiritual ideas. He accepts the new circumstances, but does not believe in new values. He would at once trace new changes to the old ideas. New thoughts and ideals will look to him as reflections of the old. There is nothing new for him. The present, however changed it may be, is the coloured past for him. This may apparently look paradoxical to some, but for a Hindu, there is to be found a consistent uniformity behind the transitory changes of life. All the changes are to be taken as temporary; the principle of life underlying them is uniform, and it is to this fundamental of existence that his eyes are always fixed. That is why, inspite of various and drastic changes that have come upon him as a religious and a political being, he is still a Hindu.

Such is the soul of India, that always shines; it admits changes, but takes them as in continuity with the past. According to it the continuity of life goes on to the future. Life is all continuous progress. It is not stagnation,

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or idleness, or inertness. The changes are essential for life. Therefore all New is welcome, in the spirit that it is but another phase of the Old. Hence it has no place for fanaticism, religious or political. All such manifestations are foreign to the soul of India. It believes that there is something behind every movement and civilisation, that work unseen. It is this Power that controls and destroys the dark forces. Love, that is another phase of the Divine, always cements humanity into a common brotherhood on this globe.

Hindu Philosophy of life is not all abstract. It is quite alive to the growth of life on earth. It is aware of the intrinsic and extrinsic values of life. But it believes in the extrinsic values as instrumental to the realisation of the intrinsic. All life expressed outwardly is but our inner development. Thus the two views are synthesised. An unsuccessful wordly life does not bring about the harmonious expression of the inner Self. The man of the world is expected to rise to perfection in his inner development so that he may display a still finer expression. The utilitarian values contribute

to the creation of the final values. They are welcome as they are conducive to inner evolution. The ultimate goal, of course, with the Hindu is his inner unfolding for finer realisation. All else is admitted only to be instrumental to the achievement of this goal. In the face of such a sublime aim of life, the erring in the material world is greatly minimised.

Life is restless to grow. The urge within works always. This urge within man is his *Dharma*. It is the essence of his being and is therefore to be regulated in actual conduct of life, according to the capacity and the psychic nature of the individual. Every individual in society has his own *Swadharma* (one's own duties) which is alone helpful to him in his development, expression and the realisation of life. Men are different in their natures, so are their duties, but the spirit of dedication and selflessness in the performance of them, is the same. Faith in one's own *Dharma* is conducive to the finer evolution of man. Thus we find equality admitted in the diversity of life. Everybody has his own actions (*Dharma*) to perform, yet the spirit of dedication

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with every one is to be the same. There is equality in the spirit of doing our respective works. So long as this equality is maintained there is no injustice done to any one, though there may be differences in the station of the individual and the nature of the work.

The Hindu spiritualises all aspects of life, not neglecting his *Dharma* in his natural existence. All the forces that are at the disposal of man, have to be used for the cosmic good. The good of the individual is included in this wider outlook. It is only when the individual gets perverted and tries to release himself from his objections to society, that he gets bound to his actions and puts a stop to his finer evolution. It is this healthy outlook of life that we propose to Man in general in the present world, that he should perceive the whole Society of man as his being. There will then be no conflicts, no clashes, amongst the individuals or the nations. The desire for self-gratification should be given up for self-expression, which is the display of the Divine, who is equally present in all and everywhere. The Hindu, therefore, places his *Dharma* before all other values of life, for it is in doing his

own *Dharma*, that he seeks not only his own individual but his social and national evolution.

The Indian philosophy of life, therefore, stands unique, for it is all spiritual. There is nothing which is not He. His individual self, the social self, the national self and the self of the Universe are all but the manifestations of the Divine. The individual does not live without the universal. Kant, the great philosopher, in his sublime vision, only went so far as to see Society as the fellowship of individual wills. But the Indian Philosophy makes us feel every individual as an expression of the Divine. When one's will is merged in the will of the Divine, a new chapter of life unfolds itself before the individual, as he realises the Divine expressed in everything.

Such a fine attitude of mind lends unlimited strength, wisdom, and delight to the individual. Such men of realisation do not have any individual purpose in their actions. They are the divine persons. They are the need of the hour, they should direct and guide the destiny of man in the present time of baffling difficulties. Such men are not created by any democratic institutions. They are not dictators,

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for they do not concentrate all the power in themselves. Nor are they party leaders, for their vision is not narrow. They are the real source of power and greatness, which is shed all round them.

A divine man is the reflection of God. He is a concrete expression, as it were, of the Divinity in its unfolding through family, society, and nation. All individuals may be taken as centres glorifying the divine life. Man is potentially divine. Humanity is Divinity come down on earth. Therefore, man originally is pure truth. He is born of God. If humanity is conceived as Divinity, individuals are not separate atoms composing the whole, but they are points, as it were, where the Divine Light appears to be shining. Consequently, our society or nation is again a bigger point than the individual for the expression of the Divinity. Such a society or a nation is capable of inviting all to its fold and there is no place therein for narrow views, bigotry and fanaticism.

Such is the sublimity of the Indian ideal of life. Some will reluctantly wonder how, with the finest conception of life, India on the

whole has been thrown far behind in the race with other countries. Yes, it is true. India in practice had lost all its vision, and had become rigid, formal and static. This was all darkness, and naturally it was to affect her adversely. The result was that India altogether changed. Politically, it came to be dominated by more or less brute force of conquerors ; religiously, it was persecuted, starved and gagged ; and then lastly, economically, it came to be exploited. Thus in various ways evils entered into its very existence and there was danger of its clear extinction. But the truth had once dawned on India and the Light was still in its atmosphere. It needed someone to see it and wake up the Mother.

The awakening at last came. But India was changed. It was chosen to be a place where possibly all the races and cultures of the world had come together. It was India of cosmic humanity, with a new role to play in history, as a leader of mankind as it had always been. Conception of a fine synthesis of all that was beautiful in different religions and civilisations came to be its privilege to develop.

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Thus we find its misfortunes again seeming to be blessings in disguise. To us, India has come to appear as a laboratory where all religions and civilisations are going to be chemically synthesised. A new age that is to be, is dawning here in this sacred land—the age that is to carry the vision of fellowship of all humanity.

We have noted the philosophic outlook of India as the healthiest one. We wish this outlook to prevail all over, so that the present civilisation, based on mechanisation and the conquest of nature, may grow into such a one, that man may live to grow finer and finer, to realise the 'vision beautiful'. Such an outlook only is capable of lending spirit to the whole structure of the present civilisation, by which its vitality can be maintained. otherwise, in the absence of this spirit, we see the whole multiplication of the gigantic machine and means both for comfort and destruction of man crumbling down the very civilisation that has created them. With the 'soul' of India there will come strength and glory to modern civilisation in just proportion as philosophical outlook is made to attend to

the business of living.

A social adjustment of the whole machinery of civilisation is very necessary for the recovery of a vital contact between the spiritual life of the individual and the social and economic organisation of modern life. The West must choose to accept the spiritual conception of life and should not feel wholly satisfied with the state of affairs as they now exist. It is not the spirit of war but the spirit of mutual help which would establish peace in the world. The right way is not the way followed by Mussolini, but it is of the Saints of India. We are getting more and more convinced that international difficulties will completely be solved only by courageous and consistent application of the human principle of life. But this principle must be active and connected with real construction. The spirit that Europe has failed to find in international matters can only be supplied by the soul of India. The spirituality of India is capable of filling up the gap to make the modern man healthy, mentally and spiritually. Without the spiritual vision, all is not well. The general discontentment as it is found with every one, rich or poor, master or

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servant, the ruler or the ruled, can only be removed by spiritual outlook.

Now that the world is growing into a universal entity, we need emphasise the teachings of ancient Indian philosophy so that mental disease into which men have fallen may be cured, for there is no other alternative. Lust, anger, avarice, passion, pride—all these are diseases of mind, which the Hindu philosophy has been emphasising for removal since ancient times. All the troubles in the world have arisen because the diseased mind has been allowed to grow and spread like an epidemic through all mankind, which has grouped itself into unhealthy nations and religions. This mental cleanliness is very necessary. We find man as a whole is deteriorating with the deterioration of his mind. We look to the coming man, well clad, well grown, well nourished with handsome bodies. All our scientific knowledge should be applied to man. The people of the present age who are in rags, crippled, suspicious, dissatisfied and malicious should no longer be found. The discipline of mind must be one of the main objects of education. Hatred, that has entered into the

very vitals of life, must be got rid of. All acts of violence, aggressive demonstrations, defilements of flags and statues, quarrels amongst communities, assassinations, throwing of bombs, are expressions of the hatred that has entered into our life. We do not uphold any violence, whether it is from the aggressor or the sufferer. All narrow patriotism that is born of the Western thought is false.

How long it will take the world to get rid of this hatred that has been fed by European politics and fanatical religions, cannot be safely gauged. In case the voice of India is not heard, and universal love is not preached and inculcated amongst the youngsters who are growing to manhood, there will always remain a constant urge with these youths to give expressions to irritations and restrictions by conspiracies and assassinations which will act and react. Society will remain in a state of suspicion and danger to life. The root cause of all this trouble is hatred, that has come to dominate the life of man in general. It has, therefore, to be purged of the human mind, so that humanity may be better and the world a calmer place to live in. The goal of life is not to

dominate another for his exploitation and one's own self-glorification. Life's aim should be the realization of the purpose of life and the real satisfaction and contentment free from all mental diseases. If this voice of India is not heard the world is not and will not be safe for the right kind of people to live in. Tyranny and cruelty, otherwise, will be the order of the day. It is unhealthy mind that thinks of inflicting pain and injuries on another. It is time that world may be saved, that those who hanker after colonies and empire may be cried down and a common goal of universal love and self-realisation be put forth before the young generations, so that the heritage they may receive may be worthy of the present world.

India to us is a sacred land, for it is destined to play an important part in the working of the world's destiny. Even in the creation of modern civilisation it was India that we may say was responsible. It was the quest of Europeans to seek India and Indian trade that made them find out means of shortening distances. But in this India has been a passive factor and not an active one. The consequent result, therefore, has been infliction of European

thought on modern civilization and not Indian thought. It is because of the lack of this Indian thought that we say that civilization has come to be incomplete. Therefore, the Indian thought had got to be contributed in order to complete the New World. The very active Europe with its attitude of dominating over others will have to be supplemented by the peace-giving and truthful thought of India, allowing all men to live at peace with one another. When Indian thought was predominant, peace and prosperity for all reigned. Since it has been subservient to European thought, there is disturbance, chaos and uncertainty prevailing all over the world.

The European predominance has played its part so far, and the destiny of mankind has come to be one; the East and the West, all countries and nations, rise and fall together. Now the world-wide mental unity has got to be established. The grouping of mankind based on religion, nationalism or communalism has been an unhealthy growth. Each one of these groups feeds upon its narrow and unadaptable views, which each regards with foolish overrortion and is not prepared to give up. This is the outcome of the teaching of the religions

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that have been uppermost in the world for all these long centuries.

The Russians against the Rumanians, the Slavs against the Italians, the Germans against the French, the Hindus against the Mohammedans, the Catholics against the Protestants, the Japanese against the Chinese—in all these groupings is to be found that hatred which is at the foundation of the world's troubles. Man as a whole does not make progress if one nation advances at the cost of another. Peace and happiness will not be found for the conquerors over the miseries of the conquered. All these things came to happen in the world when Indian thought had receded into the back-ground—that ancient philosophy of Hindus, that all mankind is pervaded by that Great Soul and there is none who can stand independently of Him. According to Indian philosophy, the mind is to be disciplined and controlled, to be developed and enlightened in the light of the universal love, disregarding the present temporary life, which is taken to be a transitional stage, a preparation ground for life to come. This is the only healthy attitude of mind towards life, which is capable of

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realising man as he ought to be, a reflection of the Divinity on earth.

CHAPTER X.

The Desire for Peace.

THE League of Nations was founded in 1919 with a view to work out international co-operation and establish international security

“by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

“by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

“by the firm establishment of the undertaking of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments,

“and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaties, obligations, in the dealings of organised peoples with one another”.

Man has the capacity to bring forth ideas and things that are necessary for his growth and preservation according to the time and circumstances. The League is such a human idea. The conception of the League is just a reflection of the thought of the coming Man.

The nations have grown to a stage at which they need a common institution affording them a common place to meet and carry out their international dealings. The League as such is therefore named a Society of Nations, a club that has its membership and creates a social atmosphere for the individual sovereign States. But to us it is a mirror in which may be seen the idea of the coming Man as an international being, living for the peace for all mankind and the elimination of war as an instrument of settling disputes and differences. We know the League at present does not possess any real power of coercion to enforce its decisions on any aggressive nation, and it will take some years before it is a real association of nations, having powers to discipline and order recalcitrants.

The desire for international fellowship is becoming popular and universal. The divine in man always produces an urge to have relations with others. This urge also asserts itself nationally, and therefore nations also wish to have international connections.

It was in the 19th century that the greed of the European nations brought about a race for

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markets for their products, and consequent expansion in the far away lands. A general scramble for colonies was the order of the day. The European nations looked East and West to find new lands for the establishment of their Empires. France swayed a portion of Africa, Germany followed her, Russia began to look into far East and England actually came into possession of a great Empire extending over the world. Such a competition was to produce inevitably jealousy and rivalry, and the result was that the dangers of war began to loom large on the European horizon. Attempts were made by European politicians to avert the danger by means of alliances and treaties. Arbitration, like The Hague Court, was introduced for adjusting the differences among nations, but these attempts failed ultimately, and the great conflagration of 1914 spread throughout Europe.

The desire for international relationship was expressed in the making of the League of Nations. It was the introduction of a system to solve the tangles of European politics independently of the old methods of settling dispute by warfare. But the League of Nations,

being an outcome of the Great War, carried with it the consciousness of being a body composed of the victor nations, which had combined together to maintain their own security against the vanquished. So it was not a genuine association aiming at the great idea of establishing peace and justice among all nations, as it advocated. The result was that great difficulties, cultural, racial and intellectual, came to stand in the way of forming an effective international fellowship. The World Economic Conference, the Disarmament Conferences, the Washington Conference were our sad inevitable experience. The members of the League of Nations flouted the League authority and openly carried out their designs of aggrandisement against the smaller and weaker neighbouring countries. Japan got its measure of Manchuria, and Signor Mussolini, flouting the Covenant, conquered Abyssinia and is today the master of it.

But all these failures look to us as stepping-stones towards success. We see behind them the drift of the new currents of thoughts and ideas which are expressed in the holding of such conferences, and in our consequent wailing

at their failure and that of the League of Nations. No doubt, Abyssinia is conquered and its Emperor today is in exile. But a powerful world opinion is created against the aggressive attitude of the Italians. The civilised world feels that a wrong is done to a people; and to us the struggle for the recognition of the right of freedom of all nations, small and big, does not seem to have come to an end. It has only begun. It is the struggle of doing away with the sense of pride in narrow patriotism, of Imperialism and of glorification at the death and extirpation of others. Such a pride belonged to the ages that are passed. The coming age cannot tolerate such a wrong and tyranny. Actions like those of the Italian Dictator are meant to awaken forces which will create and develop a sympathetic attitude amongst men and men, preparing them for the golden age that is coming when brotherhood of all mankind is to be a reality.

We do not propose to deal with the causes of the failures of international conferences and of the League. Suffice it to say that they failed, as the politicians participating in them were yet men belonging in part to the past

centuries, inasmuch as they were nationalists and selfish. That has been because the mental development of man on the whole has not been keeping pace with his outward material advancement.

There are evidences on the world horizon that nations and peoples will not be tolerated who entertain ideas of aggression, born of national prejudices and cultural differences. Nations have been very greedy for the land of other peoples; but the time of these aggressive nations, when they could realise their ambitions as they did in the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century, has passed. Coloured people are now awake and realise the inner greed that has been driving the white nations to colonise and declare their superiority and 'trusteeship' over the so-called backward coloured races. The sooner this greed is now given up by the white nations the sooner will there be a better state of affairs in the world. If this is not done Nemesis must overtake them, and they will always suffer from internecine wars. There is every reason to be glad that the League of Nations' idea has come into existence, for it can be

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ignored in the working up of adjustments, political, economic and social, amongst all the nations of the world. It is still a matter of regret that the League of Nations is not effective—impotent rather—in its assertion of the right under the present leadership of Britain, but there are seeds of hope, and we are sure not many years are to elapse before they will grow to be quite effective instruments for the furthering of the interests of man in the wonderfully composed New world.

The League of Nations advocated the institution of sanctions to be used as an instrument for the establishment of international justice without having recourse to the violent methods of war. The World War undoubtedly has made the average man feel afraid of the horrors that modern warfare entails. There is a natural tendency to seek new methods by which aggressive nations may be curbed, methods of economic and financial sanctions and other forms of resistance. Italy's action for colonial expansion may be the last chapter of Imperial greed in the world. To bring about such an expansion, which dominates a weak and backward nation, may no longer be

a laudable idea. The world in its heart of hearts dislikes it and will soon hate it. We expect international morality before long will be established, and the idea of national domination will be looked upon as immoral, improper, unjust and unconstitutional.

There is going to be more sincerity attached to international treaties solemnly signed, covenants freely undertaken, and pledges made for the settlement and regulation of disputes between nations and to abjure war as an instrument of national policy. If this international moral sense and conscience is not developed in the world—and God forbid—if nations go back to savagery and allow themselves to prostitute science yet further for destruction, man will turn into a brute and a savage of a type the like of which could not be imagined. But this is not to be. Man is man, and as he has invented the better implements for his own use, we are sure that the better self in him will develop and the higher morality assert itself. The nations of Europe, by their new combinations and alliances, show an attitude of mind to suggest that alliances and friendships amongst countries are no

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longer based on prejudice, which made the two races in the past go on fighting and never become friends, when once they fell out. The present attitude shows that the friendships and alliances are made not on the basis of sentiment, but on certain other considerations. There is another idea that is prevailing that it is not unpatriotic to feel satisfaction at the furtherance of the interests of others, so long as ours are safe and intact. A higher type of mind is working and is making its influence felt more or less, in one way or the other, amongst the world nations of today.

War is no longer to be an effective instrument to settle differences amongst nations. Methods other than war are on the tapis. These methods are peaceful in the sense that they are not violent.

Modern war between great Powers is not an ordinary activity. It could be compared to the great convulsions of nature which even alter geologically the very earth. The map of the world is left altogether different, to be redrawn at the end of a modern war. It is difficult to believe that the better sense of man would allow such violence to take place,

a violence which resembles an earthquake bringing devastation and destruction to the poor and innocent inhabitants of the area where such a catastrophe happens to visit.

Let each civilised nation stand against war, even against the mentality of war, whether on the field of battle or on the field of commerce, industry and labour. A New World is in the making, and a new order in human relations is approaching in which peace and justice, trade and intercourse, shall be secured.

The malady from which the world is now suffering is rather the inability of countries to co-ordinate their efforts to solve international difficulties. The removing of barriers to international trade is one of the most important tasks at the present time. All those who are anxious to establish international peace have set themselves to pursue persistently the task and see it to a finish. The great solution is to keep before one's eye the ultimate good of all rather than immediate advantage of each. Financial and economic sanctions against any aggressive country should prove effective enough ; violent methods of war ought not to be necessary.

CHAPTER XI.

An Appeal.

THINGS that have now come to pass in the machine age, scattered and confused as they are, need be subjected to the more ordered dominion of what is called spiritual organised life. The real spirit to put life in the new framework is still to come and make up the imperfections of the machine. But for this spirit the modern order of things is beset with evils, which might spread unprecedented destruction. The machine civilisation has come and there cannot be any other alternative but to put up with it. In the circumstances, it will confer more dignity upon human nature, it will make life rich and afford greater opportunities for the expression of life, if the right spirit begins working through it. We hope it will then make the universe sublimer and better. There is a need of a life on a higher level, life more emancipated from useless strivings and sufferings that can be overcome, and a life freer to make flights into the realm of imagination, which would be

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devoted to better uses than the satisfaction of jealousies and selfish passions. The miseries of the old times, like sickness, which elementary medicine could not cure or prevent, like starvation, which defective transportation could not help, and poverty, which the undeveloped resources could not remove, need be endured no longer.

The problem is how correctly to evaluate the New World. Both the idealist and the materialist independently of each other fail to explain it. We think both the materialist and the idealist should combine. All things in the world cannot be reduced to terms of matter and motion, nor can we take refuge in occultism alone to get the right understanding of new things and new life.

How to reduce the confusion of the modern age whether in matters of business, labour, health, family life, economy, the arts, government or international relations, is a great problem before the world. The solution of it does not lie in the working up of any mechanism. Here the machine is to be given up, and all those virtues that are connected with religion and the spirit are to be looked to

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and practised, namely, their involving habits customs, morals, etc. All that psychology, philosophy and religion can contribute will solve this problem and reduce the confusion and bewilderment to which things have fallen. It is out of the development of the religious values that the new and a better ordered state of affairs will be evolved. It is in the working of the mind and not in any function of mechanism that the solution to this problem lies. We have inherited some ideas and institutions of the previous civilisation, and we feel some of them are part and parcel of our very thought; it will take some time to change them in order to adjust them to the new circumstances, which have come to be altogether different.

It is impossible now to have narrow, old views on religion and morals. It was very difficult some centuries ago to remove the misery of human labour, and thereby the class distinction that existed between man and man. Now that human labour is not so much wanted, and the machine is taking its place, the sense of equality amongst all men is very conspicuous. This sense of equality is a spiritual

potential foundation on which is sure to be built every department of life in the new age. Besides, science and technology are restoring the sense of self-confidence which would transform the whole outlook, not only of the West but of the East as well. There is a general tendency in advanced society every where on the surface of the globe towards a broader vision and a more sympathetic attitude in dealings between mankind.

A general sense of scepticism with regard to dogmatic religions is prevailing. Man is not prepared to accept dogmatically anything placed before him, unless and until he is so convinced by sufficient evidence of the truth thereof. This is a spirit of 'creative doubt'. Nothing is accepted in this age on the statement by a higher authority. The facts and figures are sought, doubts are raised, and then, when one is convinced, he takes a thing as correct.

We may say a new religion is prevailing unconsciously in the minds of men. This religion may be called a religion of self-reliance in which there are new morals being experienced and practised. There is self-confidence prevailing in man because he thinks

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himself competent enough to control his own destiny. The religion is the religion of true democracy. Forces that bring forth the practice of liberty, equality and fraternity are spiritual, and, therefore, in the new moral and spiritual structure of society there is to be found the display of the better-self of man. There is to be a new social and political philosophy which is to meet the requirements of the new life that is coming. Proper emphasis is to be put on the necessity for making effective the collective power of society, keeping in view the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number; this is appearing in various organisations of people, as, for instance, the Labour Unions, which aim at collective bargaining with the capitalists. All these tendencies are resulting in the practice of various socialistic ideas, such as taxation on inheritance, progressive income-tax, compulsory insurance of workmen against accident and old age, fixing of working hours and minimum wages, and the like. These ideas are no longer considered to be dangerous and are becoming an integral part of the programme of every modern government. At present the private

property may not be abolished altogether, but the tax on income and inheritance is an admitted fact which is not questioned anywhere. Strikes are considered as a legal weapon and every modern government recognises them as such.

Thus we find a new religion is prevailing. It is a religion that allows every man and woman to lead a free life, respecting the liberty of other people, and we find that general happiness and comfort of the individual in this collective system of life is being enhanced. This is going to be a great heritage that the coming world will receive from the present times. We are passing through a civilisation which is making the fullest possible use of human ingenuity and intelligence, which is being employed to control nature and transform its forces so as to serve mankind and liberate the human spirit from ignorance, darkness of superstition and slavery. There is confusion and disturbance all round us and the right way is not yet clear as to how the society in the modern age should be arranged.

There is unemployment, misery and general discontentment prevailing and Man is not

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happy. How should this problem of unemployment be solved in the world? There are people who advocate developing great public works to absorb the unemployed and to bring about the consumption of over-produced material that is being turned out with the help of machinery. But all these thinkers find it difficult to materialise their ideas. The people who are in charge of the affairs of the Governments—representatives as they are of their national interests—look upon the world through national spectacles. As national representatives they do not see anything beyond their national interests. There is, therefore, a diplomatic bargain at the back of all what they speak and do; and thus the real solution of the problem of how universal harmony in the world can actually be established is a difficult one.

Our difficulties cannot be removed unless world co-operation is admitted, and production and distribution of wealth throughout the world is judiciously organised. The goal there is world co-operation and peace, which is essential for establishing a true democracy, in which all men may have equal opportunities

according to their capacity, and are to be no longer objects of exploitation at the hands of better placed and cleverer people ; how is this to be attained ? The present state of affairs is discouraging enough.

The desire for establishment of Imperialism is not yet over in the world. Germany, Italy and Japan have still before themselves the Imperialistic designs of the 19th Century. The lessons of the Great War are not heeded. The reason is clear, that every advanced nation has its own trumpet to blow and is living in its own thoughts. The Germans with their philosophy of Nazism, the Italians with their Fascism, the Russians with their Communism, and other nations with their own thoughts and institutions are pressing forward individually. The problem of the world and the establishment of general democracy is not yet an important concern with them. The reason for this demoralization and disintegration—chaos—is that there is no Indian thought, no Indian way of looking at things and life. It is the Indian thought that gives solace to the human mind, contentment, satisfaction, the desire to bring about the development of

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internal self and not the exploitation of the weak and the poor.

The Great War proved that the salvation of the world did not lie through violence, butchery and exploitation. The nations of the world will all suffer if this mentality is not banished. It appears that the world so far does not seem to be learning any lesson from that great universal murder. It is groaning still under the pain of that unparalleled calamity and yet the way to common world peace is not sincerely sought. The reason is that, as yet, the Press, private interests of social groups, old traditions, old stereotyped ideas, hold the mind of man. There is no definite complete idea, no goal of a positive philosophy for the conduct of men, to be followed in the changed circumstances. This deficiency in the present structure of society, or rather in the mind of man, is rather intellectual. There is now in the back ground a desire for the finding of salvation, but there is no scheme forthcoming which may be pursued for the attainment of the goal. This absence of objective is the cause of the great confusion in the world. It can be supplied only by teaching the world the spiritual lessons of the East. The

West has failed, and it will fail. The only aim of living according to the philosophy of the great Indian Rishis is to realise the essence of existence through self-expression and self-fulfilment. It is to this one aim that all activities of life are to be directed. This must always stand as a true light for the guidance of men. So long as this truth is not heeded there will always be confusion, not only in the life of individuals but in the life of nations. We vision the New World as one unit, like one country in which one nation, one community—politically, socially and geographically—is combined.

The hills, oceans and rivers have been conquered, and the conquest of these physical barriers has created a new geography of the world. Now that the New World is created with no natural or geographical barriers, the idea of oneness of humanity is within practical comprehension; therefore it would not be wrong to state that this vast world is going to be inhabited by one nation, one community, one humanity. We do not mention one religion; that is a personal affair. It is an idea, a thought, an inner working of the realization

of the individual and therefore it cannot be one for all. Religions in this sense will be as many as there are individuals. To bind the inner thought of man to one dogma is negation of liberty, which everybody is free to enjoy.

Let us remember that spiritual thought of India, that all beings are as pearls set on a common thread to make a beautiful garland. It is the single current of life that permeates every being. Therefore all are not only equal, but equally beautiful—the image of God Himself.

But India of today is poor and fallen. Long ages of slavery have imbued it with the defeatist mentality, and today an average Hindu, who claims to be the descendant of the past great leaders of spirituality, is a hopeless creature, selfish, narrowminded and a coward. He has lost self-confidence and has no will to act. The greatest need of India today is, therefore, the cultivation of the will to act. This is a great mental factor that works amongst successful men. They act at the proper time. This is a habit that makes a man successful. Too much of vegetating and philosophising makes the man inactive. Inactivity

is no virtue. The more a man is active and ready to act, the better man he is. It is through his actions that the real expression of life may be experienced. The life of man is meant for expression. A flower that does not express itself by giving away its fragrance is no good. It is, therefore, in action that real life blossoms. Thus in India this lesson has to be broadcast so that the people may cultivate the habit to act. It is not by lecturing or by theorising over such things that habits are made. Habit is an attitude of mind that is created after action, repeated again and again. Unless action is performed and is performed many a time, no habit can be formed. Therefore, what is needed is a regular programme of life actually to be followed, to develop fine characters that should be worthy of our spiritual heritage. This is one of the direct needs of present day India that Indian Politicians should look to.

As for the British, we have to say that they are the most fortunate of people, being favoured with a chance of dealing with a vast empire that has fallen into their hands and which they can use in the service of man by establishing

peace in the world and fostering international co-operation through the display of a broader and a nobler mind. Let the British develop an international culture and work out the idea of world organisation. It is they who uphold most the freedom of expression and liberty of action.

We cannot say what actually will become of British Imperialism in the process of the growth of the coming civilisation. But the British Empire, with her most wonderful dominion of India, at present forms a powerful nucleus which could attract other smaller forces and grow stronger and stronger, till the whole world with her independent and sovereign States in miraculously synthesised, forming a new and united world. It is a great advantage to be a citizen of this great Empire, upon which the future of the New World hinges. If peace in Europe—and, as a matter of that in the world—is to be maintained, it is this Empire that can accomplish it. India is a great asset to the Empire. There could be no future either for India or for the Empire without the one or other.

And to the people in general of the world,

we say that the upheavals, violent or otherwise, of the present day are expression of the misguided attempt to bring about the adjustments of the internal man to his external circumstances. Their violence and fury are comparable to frantic out-pourings of a sick man suffering from delirium. It needs a right medicine to bring the harmony back to the system. Such an unhealthy condition of the world will continue for some time before the final establishment of peace is accomplished, wherein men will be happy, healthy, contented and free from strife. We do not want risings which involve, besides tyrannical actions, immense loss of energy, pain and suffering. Almost all the present day movements carried out in the name of national liberty and freedom, whether in Russia, Germany, Italy or in any other country, will not bring satisfaction, solace and peace, either to the nations concerned or the world outside them.

To us it appears that the intelligent, able and energetic individuals of every nation, race and class will soon be co-ordinating themselves to take the world out of the disaster into which it has fallen headlong. A new type of

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revolution will be brought about—a revolution that will not support tyranny and cruelty in any shape or form. There is no need for violent revolutions that cost valuable lives. It should be a bold constructive revolution, in which society is to be remodelled yet, so that there is no cruelty or tyranny perpetrated anywhere. We have called narrow nationalism injurious, like a cancer eating into the very vitals of human society as a whole. All these patriotic societies are hinderances in the way of establishing world-peace. The great disaster into which the world is going to plunge may clearly be perceived and the world must be saved in time, for otherwise the period of suffering due to this collapse will be long and painful.

If man chooses, we are within reach of a period of time when generosity, toleration and kindness may replace greed, cruelty and distrusts. This is the millennium that we wish to hail, and to the bringing about of which we should all work and think, so that the needless suffering that Man might be put to through the period of transition may be avoided.

CONCLUSION.

LET us conclude that true equality amongst men can be better established on the basis of spiritual thought. The Lord, that Current supreme, that runs through every being is the same. Through the high and the low, through the black and the white, through the savage and the civilised, is that one spirit running which is universally the same. Those who realise this greatest force permeating every being, realise that equality knows no hatred or distinction between mankind. A man of such a realization does not need position and birth, and looks upon every one with the same love that becomes a highly cultured human heart. A Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian or a Jew does not make any difference with him. He finds his Lord present in every being and knows that his Lord admits of no distinction amongst His people. He understands with Plato, "all men are by nature equal, made of the same earth by one workman; and, however we deceive ourselves, as dear unto God is the poor peasant as the mighty Prince." A man of this

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realization, however humble he may be, stands equal to the highest person, for he finds his life inferior to none. It is neither the colour, nor the position in society, nor better circumstances that determine the superiority of man; the good and bad are the only distinctions which make one superior and the other inferior.

In fact the whole world is the manifestation of the one spirit. It is that spirit which is the *life* that runs through every living being and sustains everyone equally. We are all set in Him, and He pervades in everyone of us. Rightly it is said in the Koran, "Oh men, we created you of male and female and then divided you into sects, clans, and spread you in several regions, but all these differences are meant to distinguish one clan from the other. As for the standard of superiority of man, that does not depend upon separate divisions but on the practical life of man—he is the noblest who is most virtuous". The Gita holds good the spiritual equality. "They who depend upon me, though of sinful birth, Vaisia and Sudra they also attain the highest goal."

Those who feel that God is present in the

hearts of beings do not hate anybody. Their heart is full of love for all. This spiritual lesson is the dire need of the day. The world is changing and the nations and races have come close together by conquering time and space. It is but necessary that we should all feel and realize the common life-current that flows and connects us all. We are all members of one family, human beings with no difference anywhere, because the life in us is the common life. May we awaken ourselves to this sublime truth that is incorporated in the sayings of all great Prophets and Poets! It is the narrowness of the selfish people that brings about the difference which is responsible for the disaster. Let us all feel with the poet who said, "Equal nature fashioned us, all in one mould, of but outward gloss and politic form that distinguish us." It is the unreal that we see around ourselves, that makes the difference. The real in us all is the same. May God's light descend upon our hearts, and may we have the strength to expedite the good time coming, when men of all nations will be united by the ties of common brotherhood, feeling that our Creator is one, that Lord Supreme!

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Let us think of the Supreme power with the Hindu poet and say :—

"As the one sun reflected in different pools of water appears as so many different suns, so Thou too, O Mother, doest appear as many through delusion. But still Thou art the One without a second, known as the Brahma Supreme."

(202 *Mahakala Samhita Puran*)

And Let us bow to the following :—

Common be your prayer;

Common be your end;

Common be your purpose;

Common be your deliberation.

Common be your desires;

Unified be your hearts;

Unified be your intentions:

Perfect be the union amongst you.

(*Rig Veda X, 191-3-4*)

PEACE.